MODERN JAPAN

STORY OF THE NATIONS

JAPAN

By DAVID MURRAY, Ph.D., LL.D.

With a new chapter on Japan as a Great Power, by JOSEPH LONGFORD, B A., Emeritus Professor of Japanese, King's College, London, and 35 Illustrations and Maps.

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MODERN JAPAN

ITS POLITICAL, MILITARY, AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

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AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM

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PREFACE

I HAVE much pleasure in accepting Mr. McGovern's invitation to prefix a few words regarding this little book and its author. The book itself stands in no need of commendation, for I feel sure that anyone who takes it up will find it difficult to put it down unfinished. The style is racy, and the author speaks with a confidence bred of intimate knowledge and a candour which is refreshing without being offensive.

Mr. McGovern was born in North America of an English father, and began his education in the New World. He was, however, at an early age attracted to the study of Japanese, and before coming to England two years ago he had spent ten years in the Far East, of which six were devoted to school and college studies in Japan. He finally took a distinguished degree in Buddhist Philosophy which entitles him to priestly dignity. This degree represents a high standard of knowledge in that very engrossing and difficult subject, the Chinese Buddhist Scriptures, which consist mainly of translations made by the early Chinese pilgrims to India of Sanskrit originals, the greater number of which have perished.

The difficulties of interpreting abstruse textbooks of Indian philosophy, where so much depends on technical terminology, through the medium of a language so far removed from the original Sanskrit, can be readily imagined. It is only to be hoped that Mr. McGovern may in the near future give us some results of these special studies of his, which I am sure would find a wide circle of readers. The author's studies pursued in intimate intercourse with learned Japanese gave him, incidentally, a familiarity with their modes of thought and a knowledge of their language such as few Englishmen have ever possessed. No one can claim that it is easy for us to become intimately acquainted with the mentality of our great ally Japan, and any work which can enlighten us renders an important service to our country. The thousands of our fellow-countrymen who have travelled in Japan have delighted in its freshness and beauty, but few have realized the motive forces that lie behind the calm exterior and courtly manners of the disciples of Bushido. The importance to us of understanding the aims and ideals of Japan cannot be overestimated, and it would be difficult to name any work in our language which gives us a clearer notion of these than Mr. McGovern's "Modern Japan."

E. DENISON ROSS.

INTRODUCTION

THE ETHNOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

THE ETHNOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

1. The National Psychology of the Japanese

In recent years Japan has come to assume an ever-increasing importance in international affairs. Its art has been studied and admired by connoisseurs. Its armies have defeated a Power with whom even Napoleon could not cope. Its commerce and industry threaten to crowd out all other competitors. Its administrative system is the marvel and envy of the world.

In 1853 Japan was nothing more than a name. Its inhabitants were considered barbarians. They were forced at the cannon's mouth to open their doors to the all-conquering Occidental. Fifty years later they were recognized as a first-class Power, wielding a potent influence over the destinies of nations.

Thousands of books have been written on this fascinating country, ranging from weighty tomes full of technical jargon to the impressions of a three weeks' visitor. There is a constant demand for, and supply

of, lectures on the subject. Yet to the ordinary European public Japan is an unknown factor, or, worse, its current views are tinctured with innumerable misconceptions.

Generally speaking, there are three schools of thought regarding Japan. First there are those who consider the Japanese to be more or less as the labour agitator of the Western States of America pictures him to us—uncivilized, dishonest, an inferior type of being, of low intellectual standard and shocking morality, incapable of assimilation.

Then there is the diametrically opposite view presented by the casual tourist to the Far East. Such a person tells us of the quaint other-worldliness of the kingdom of flowers, of the kingdom of slender swords, dainty, delicious, polite, utterly lacking in the sordid commercialism of the West, with nothing but cherry-trees, kimono, geisha, and rikisha.

Finally there are those who, attempting to assume a middle course, content themselves with lumping the Japanese with all the other inhabitants of Eastern countries as mysterious Orientals, or at most classing them with the Chinese as the impenetrable Mongolians. This conception is, to say the least, amusing, inasmuch as neither the Chinese nor Japanese are, strictly speaking, Mongols. What is more, no two countries and peoples could be more antithetical in spirit, in traditions, in language, or in *esprit nationale*, than the Japanese and Chinese.

The Chinese are highly individualistic ; the Japanese

communistic. The Chinese are probably the least patriotic of all peoples, the Japanese the most. The Chinese are great peace-lovers. They have always placed the merchant high in the social scale (next to the mandarin, in fact), while the soldier has occupied the lowest position. In Japan the warrior spirit has had from the beginning a welcome home. In the past the merchant was the lowest of their four classes of society, and the soldier, the *Bushi,* the highest. In both countries these lower classes—in one the soldiery, in the other the traders—have gained for themselves a rather unsavoury reputation.

Again, the Chinese are a stoical, the Japanese a highly emotional, people, though centuries of repression have taught them how to control, at least externally, their feelings. To those who are acquainted with the Japanese imperviousness to pain or calamity, or the smile that is worn no matter how great the disaster, such a statement may cause surprise. But these facts imply, not a lack of the emotions, but a command over them, for the Japanese not only possess but pride themselves upon easily aroused sentiments of loyalty, patriotism, and the emotional appreciation of beauty. A Japanese audience will be moved to tears by a pathetic ballad or visibly thrilled by a tale of glorious conflict.

Finally, Chinese is a monosyllabic language, highly difficult to pronounce, but with little or no grammatical inflection. Japanese, though it has within historic times adopted the Chinese ideographs and many

Chinese words, is essentially polysyllabic, and, while easy to pronounce, is one of the most highly inflected tongues in the world.

Generally speaking, the ethnology of a race gives some clue to its chief characteristics, but when we attempt to approach the Japanese in this manner we enter into very troubled waters. The average uneducated native believes that, whatever the origin of other races, his own ancestors came down directly from *Takamagahara,* the Plain of High Heaven, and that accordingly he is for ever distinct from other peoples of merely human origins.

Now, however improbable this explanation may be, the hypotheses formulated by more scientific investigators seem equally unconvincing. The Japanese have been identified as Aryan, Hamitic, Melanesian, Malay, Mongolian—in fact, even Semitic. They have this in common with the English : they have been discovered to be the ten lost tribes !

In all probability, contrary to their own ideas, the Japanese are a very mixed race, of which the following are the principal elements :

First the so-called Kumaso, of Kyushu, in the extreme south of Japan. These were a savage but as yet unidentified race, probably either from Borneo or Korea, possibly both.

Second the Ainus, or, as the ancient records call them, the Yemishi, in the north of Japan, who were probably the primitive inhabitants of the whole island. According to some theories, they are a debased branch

of the Aryans. Both the Kumaso and the Ainus are of comparative unimportance.

Third the real Mongolian, or the Sushen (not the Chinese), in the north-west of the country, and to a certain extent, in Idzumo. These swept southwards through Mongolia, Manchuria, and possibly Korea, though the Koreans proper are probably of southern origin.

Fourth a certain number of Chinese immigrants in small numbers at various intervals. In addition, the early Idzumo civilization contained a large mixture of Korean and Chinese types.

Fifth, and most important, is the Malay stock, migrating from the Malay Archipelago through the Philippines, Formosa, and the Loochoo Islands, to Kyushu in the south and the Kii Peninsula on the east, to which all traditions agree in ascribing the origin of the Yamato or real Japanese race.

Recent investigations amongst the aborigines of Formosa and the Philippines more and more tend to demonstrate the important part the Malays had in the formation of what we now know as the Japanese race; but, in whatever way such questions may be finally decided, the fact remains that they have succeeded in producing a type of civilization quite distinct from that of their Oriental neighbours, such as China or India.

A favourite simile is to divide philosophy into the old threefold categories of metaphysics or theology, ethics, and æsthetics, and to say that India represents the first, China the second, and Japan the third.

No one, for example, who is at all acquainted with the Japanese or Chinese would call them a religious people, while the Hindus are this *par excellence*. Their religion may be a debasing superstition or a most exalted philosophy, according to the nature and education of the person concerned; but one and all are interested in abstract speculation or devotional practice.

On the other hand, neither the Hindus nor the Japanese have ever attempted to formulate any particular ethical code *per se*, independent of religion or metaphysics, and any discussions which we may find in their books on ethics are approached indirectly and from different points of view. With the Chinese, metaphysics are treated from the standpoint of ethics. In Lao Tsu, Confucius, Mencius, Chou Hi, or Wang Yang Ming, there is little more than an endeavour to discover the fundamental principles of human actions. The Analects form an essay on the conduct of life, and even the Tao Te Ching speaks of the Tao only in order that we may understand the theory of Wu Wei.

As they would be the first to admit, the Japanese have never particularly dealt with metaphysical hair-splitting, nor have they been greatly concerned with questions relating to the abstract principles of good and evil; but in an attempt to formulate an immanent philosophy of life it may be said with some justice that they have been more successful than any other people.

This immanent philosophy of life we have called æsthetics, but in a far different and broader sense than that generally used. It may, if preferred, be termed

the practical philosophy, or, in other words, not the search for the ultimate nature of generalities, but the application in everyday life of such principles taken more or less for granted. The artist, for example, does not quibble about the question as to what and why is beauty, analyzing it into so many divisions, but endeavours to express his ideals in a material form, to crystallize an unrealized and unanalyzed sense of the beautiful with a block of stone or a tube of paint.

It is as if we were to ask whether the Russians were a philosophic people. In modern times they have produced no great metaphysician or theologian, yet one of the novels of Dostoevsky is a philosophy of life, a study of certain *motifs* in human existence, and not an attempt to criticize their exact meaning.

Using the word æsthetic in this newer and broader sense, we may say that the Japanese are essentially an æsthetic people. They have produced no great abstract thinker, but their poems express *in petto* our relation to life, and the manner in which the universe impresses us, more than countless volumes of logic chopping would do. They have never attempted an acute analysis of right and wrong, yet we find that they have developed a powerful moral æstheticism, a practical code of morals based on loyalty and self-sacrifice for the sake of the superior or for the State.

In modern times, with the advent of science, they may be said, as a general rule (with some injustice to individual exceptions), not to have gone in for the investigation of theories or hypotheses, but have made

splendid progress in the application of scientific principles in everyday life, especially to commerce and industry, in which point they are in some ways far ahead of ourselves.

Of recent years one hears many drastic criticisms of the Japanese commercial morality. One is told that a Chinese merchant is honest, and that his word is as good as his bond, while his Japanese rival sells shoddy articles, and keeps contracts only when it is of advantage for him to do so. There is a certain element of truth in this complaint, but there is something to be said on the other side.

Generalities are very seldom correct, but on the whole it would be fairly accurate to say that the Chinese are scrupulous but dishonest, and the Japanese honest but unscrupulous. A Chinese merchant promises that a certain article will be ready for delivery on a certain date and for a certain price. The promise will be faithfully kept, even though he lose heavily by the transaction, but the same man might well break into your house and recover the money that he had lost.

A Japanese under the same circumstances would behave quite differently. The goods promised on Wednesday will perhaps be delivered Wednesday fortnight. He may demand treble the price agreed upon, or refuse to hand them over altogether. On receipt they may prove to be altogether different from and inferior to the sample, but in most cases you can trust him never to steal a farthing from you.

It is no uncommon occurrence for some peasant to

pick up a purse dropped on the wayside, unidentifiable and containing a good deal of loose money, and yet to hand it in to the local police office, where it may be claimed. Houses are of the flimsiest order, but apart from the cities housebreaking is rare, whereas in China thick walls and padlocked doors cannot prevent frequent pilfering.

In a word, the Chinese merchant has a reputation, and will stand a considerable loss rather than lower it. His Japanese rival has nothing to stake, and so pleases himself, yet he has a fairly well-developed sense of *meum* and *tuum*.

2. Topographical Features

Above all, in estimating the characteristics of a nation, its geographical position and resources must be taken into account. Had it not been for her insular state and the existence of the Gulf Stream, her iron and her coal, the history and present condition of England would be very different from what it is.

As with England, so with Japan. Her separation from the continent of Asia has been her safeguard. The abundance of mountains and the lack of intercourse with outsiders have made the Japanese people clannish and strictly nationalist. Her swift streams are proving of immense benefit to industry, while the agricultural poverty of the country and the scarcity of iron have been powerful factors in shaping the policy of territorial expansion.

Going more into details, we find that (apart from

her colonial possessions) Japan consists of a group of islands lying between 130° and 150° longitude and between 30° and 50° latitude, though most of the country proper lies south of 40°. This places it on a level with the United States, Korea, China, Persia, Palestine, and those countries on both the northern and southern sides of the Mediterranean. This point should be borne in mind, for most Occidentals regard Japan as a tropical or semi-tropical nation.

Though we speak of Japan as an island, strictly speaking it is an archipelago. Counting the smaller and uninhabited islands, there are over 3,000, but of those which are of sufficient importance to be enumerated there are 549. Even these are comparatively insignificant, except for the four islands of Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu, and Yezo.

Honshu may be called the mainland of Japan. In it are found Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, and most of the other chief cities. Shikoku, the "Island of the Four Provinces," lies to the south, and is separated from Honshu by the famous Inland Sea. Kyushu, to the south-west, is the second largest. Here most of the coal-mines are situated, while in addition it is famous as being the early home of the Japanese and the seat of their first capital on their arrival from the Southern Seas. Yezo has long been given over to the Ainu, and is still regarded more as a colony than as an integral part of the Motherland.

Of recent years Japan has acquired the Kurile Islands, stretching from Yezo to the north-east; the

southern half of Saghalien ; Formosa and the intervening archipelago ; Korea ; and various minor points in China, Manchuria, and the South Sea Islands.

Located as Japan is, the surrounding seas are of the utmost importance. Chief amongst them are the Sea of Japan on the west and the Pacific Ocean on the south and east. The former is a shallow basin (averaging 1,200 fathoms in depth, with a maximum of 3,200 fathoms) separating the islands from Korea and China. The Pacific is of various depths, and stretches almost without a break to the shores of North America. In it, to the north-east, a short distance from Japan, is the famous Tuscarora Basin, some 4,655 fathoms deep, at the bottom of which there is almost constant volcanic activity. We have good reason to suppose that many of the earthquakes and tidal waves with which Japan is inflicted may be traced to this cause.

In some respects the country is like a long and irregular triangle, in which there is a western, an eastern, a southern, but no northern side. Both the eastern and western coasts are comparatively free from indentation. Lacking harbours, they have not received much commercial or industrial development. The southern coast, on the other hand, has been well eaten away by the waters, leaving such excellent bays as those of Tokyo, Suruga, Sagami, Ise, and Osaka, to say nothing of the Inland Sea and the straits connected therewith.

Of even greater importance are the great ocean

currents. Such, for example, is the *Kuroshiwo*, or Black Stream, which in its action, direction, and results, corresponds to the Gulf Stream of the Atlantic. The name is derived from the appearance of the waters, being of a deep indigo in fine weather and ashy pale on cloudy days. The current has an immense effect upon the climate of Japan, more particularly with regard to the Pacific coast. This is not surprising, as it has its origin near the equator, being produced by the Pacific trade-winds.

After running some distance westwards, the stream turns to the north not far from the Philippines, and thus becomes a Japan current. It runs along the eastern coast of Formosa, and just south of Japan divides into two branches. One, the minor, sweeps to the left, and, circling Kyushu, passes along the western coast and loses itself in the Sea of Japan. The main body flows past the eastern coast, then turns sharply to the right and proceeds in the direction of America.

The consequences of the Kuroshiwo is to make the climate of Japan warm, moist, and without the great variation of temperature that marks the nearby continent of Asia.

There are also two smaller and colder currents sweeping down from the north. One, the Oyashiwo, flows along the eastern coast of Yezo and Honshu until, a little above Tokyo, it comes in contact with the warm Kuroshiwo from the south. The other, the Okhotsk stream, more particularly in its Liman

branches, proceeds southwards through the Sea of Japan along the western coast of Honshu and the eastern coast of the continent of Asia, reaching as far south as Hongkong, owing to which fact these localities have relatively cold winters.

Geologically, Japan is related to the Asiatic mainland, but is far more complicated. Being a volcanic country, large sections are composed of igneous rocks, but even so, sedimentary soil is about two to one. Strictly speaking, the mountain chains may be divided into three great heads—palæozoic schists; volcanic rocks, chiefly trachyte and dolerite; and finally plutonic rocks, especially granite.

These mountain ranges are extraordinarily numerous. Japan can claim to be one of the most irregular countries in the world. Seven-eighths of the total area of the land consists either of mountains or of small intervening valleys, only one-eighth being taken up with plains or flats. Though the large number of subsidiary groups precludes detailed enumeration, broadly speaking all are connected with one or the other of two great mountain systems, the northern and the southern.

The former has its origin in Saghalien, and passes through Yezo or Hokkaido to the middle section of Honshu or the main island. The latter may be traced from Formosa northwards through the Loochoo Archipelago, and then through Kyushu to Honshu, one branch entering directly on the south-west and another through Shikoku to the central portion of the

island. There is also a midland range, where the northern and southern systems meet.

Though high compared with the mountains of England, very few of the Japanese peaks reach perpetual snow-level. The highest is Niitakayama, or Mount Morrison, in Formosa, which is over 14,000 feet high, while the most famous is the superb cone of Mount Fuji, some 12,000 feet in altitude. Of recent years the Japanese Alps, those mountains lying in the north-east of the central portion of Honshu, have acquired much fame, and are frequently the goal of mountain-climbers.

Mountains, as we have noted, are of two kinds, palæozoic and volcanic. For the most part, they are arranged in separate chains, which, however, frequently intersect. There are few volcanoes on the eastern or Pacific side, but they abound in the west. Most of the higher peaks in all parts are volcanic cones superimposed on mountains of more ancient origin. Apart from such dormant or extinct volcanoes as Fuji or Asotake—the latter, situated in the heart of Kyushu, having the largest crater in the world—there are at present some eighteen which are fairly active. Chief amongst these are Bandai in the north, Asama in the centre, and Kirishima and Sakurajima in the south.

In addition to volcanoes, Japan suffers severely from earthquakes. These are more often felt in the east than in the west, and are frequently accompanied by tidal waves. As has been noted, this is probably

connected with the subterranean activity of the Tuscarora Basin, and may further have some relation to the fact that on the west the land is rising and on the east sinking. Several comparatively severe shocks are felt almost every year, while the seismograph indicates that in thirteen years there were over 17,000 occurrences, making an average of two or three daily. Needless to say, most of these are imperceptible.

Notwithstanding the large number of mountain ranges, there are thirteen rather extensive plains. Of these, three are sufficiently important to deserve notice. There is first the Kwanto plain in the east, in which are situated Tokyo and Yokohama; second the Kinai plain in the centre, in which are found the cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe; and finally the Tsukushi plain in Kyushu, containing all the larger coalfields.

The natural formation of the country has resulted in the creation of a great many rivers, though most of them are little more than mountain streams, short and rapid, with wide beds through which trickle but little brooks during the dry season, but which swell into mighty torrents shortly after the rains. From the point of view of navigation they are practically useless, but they are singularly adapted for use as power supplies. Hydro-electricity is cheap and plentiful. Many of the mills are operated through its agency. For this reason Japan can view with equanimity the diminution of her coal resources.

There are sixteen rivers over a hundred miles in length, but of these only three require special mention.

These are the Tonegawa, with its many connecting branches, flowing through the eastern portions of the country and emerging in the Tokyo Bay; the Shinanogawa, arising in the central mountains and flowing to the north, emptying into the Sea of Japan, where, owing to the sediment it is only 6 feet deep; and the Kisogawa, whose source is near that of the Shinano, but which proceeds southwards to the Atsuta Bay on the Pacific Ocean.

The volcanoes have at least given Japan one valuable heritage—hot springs. These are to be found scattered all over the country. More than a hundred have become famous for their reputed medical value, for there are acid, sulphurous, saline, carbonic, and chalybeate springs.

In lakes she is not so fortunate, though there are three of considerable importance. One is Chuzenji, near Nikko, which is in some ways the most beautiful. Its depth, its colour, the surrounding forest coming down to the water's edge, all add to its attractiveness. The nearby Kegon Waterfall is a well-known place for despondent youths to commit suicide. Lake Suwa, some 800 metres above sea-level, is chiefly known because its thick crust of ice in winter offers excellent skating. Its dimensions are gradually diminishing. The largest body of water is Lake Biwa, which corresponds closely to Lake Geneva, having a circumference of 180 miles. It is near Kyoto, is 100 metres deep, and the same distance above sea-level.

Regarding the climate of Japan there are two

strangely erroneous impressions in the Occident. One is that it is delightful. The other that it is warm. In reality Japan is bitterly cold in winter, stiflingly hot in summer, and moist and humid at all times. The dampness and the heat owe their origin to the Black Current sweeping up from the south, particularly affecting the eastern coast. The cold is due to the currents from the north, accompanied by icy blasts of wind, more especially over the western coast.

Snow is frequent, but except in the mountains is neither deep nor permanent. The best months are April and November, the one noted for the cherry blossoms, the other for the maple leaves. In the early summer there are constant downpours. This is succeeded by the dog-days, a period of rainless but humid heat, after which come the early autumn showers.

Though one speaks of the Japanese climate, it should not be forgotten that the temperature varies considerably, not only from north to south, but also from east to west. In Yezo the mean annual temperature is 44° F. In Tokyo it is 57°. In Taihoku, the capital of Formosa, it is 71°.

In brief, Japan has on the whole just those features to stimulate its peoples to activity, while its failings cause them to look abroad for further spheres of control.

PART I

THE ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

CHAPTER II

EVENTS PRIOR TO THE RESTORATION

1. The Early History of Japan. 2. The Period of the Restoration.

1. THE EARLY HISTORY OF JAPAN

THE gradual development of the social and political fabric of Japan affords a very interesting field of study. At the dawn of history, at a time lost in the mists of antiquity—the Japanese claim it to be 660 B.C.—Japan emerges upon the scene as a nucleus of conquering tribes under the leadership of him who was later to be known as Jimmu Tenno. They expanded to the north, starting from the south-western extremity of the island of Kyushu, and travelled up the eastern coast, touching at various points on the Inland Sea, eventually centralizing their authority in the Kii Peninsula, though it was long before the whole country came under their dominion.

This people, the triumphant Yamato race, cannot claim to have attained any great civilization. They were hunters and fighters with little other than crude tribal organization, tattooing their faces, ignorant of letters, of most arts and crafts, their religion a primitive animism, their code barbaric. From all

accounts, women played an important part in political life, many leaders and even sovereigns being chosen from amongst them. Nor, while they were left to themselves, do we find much to indicate a rapid cultural development. It was not until intercourse with China and Korea in the fifth century A.D. that there is evidence of change. Until this time the innate Japanese principle of succession from father to son was all-powerful. The rulers were hereditary, as were the priests, the soldiers, the craftsmen, the officials of State, the tribal chiefs.

Upon coming in contact with the centralized authority and bureaucratic administration of China, where all offices were the reward of examination and an Imperial democracy prevailed, Japan, with her extraordinary aptitude for assimilation of alien cultures, remodelled herself on her continental rival. Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced, the Chinese ideographs employed to write the Japanese language, Chinese physicians, artists, writers, and craftsmen, brought over to teach the Japanese of their wisdom, and thereby to bring about the first of the great transformations.

Eventually, in the Taikwa reforms and the codes thereby inaugurated, the Chinese methods of administration were adopted wholesale, boards and bureaux founded, ranks of official promotion introduced, and an attempt made to mould the loose national organization into a compact empire with an established capital in possession of sole authority, sending Prefects and

Viceroys to govern the provinces previously left in the hands of the hereditary lords.

For the space of a century or two this plan seemed destined for success. At the beginning of the eighth century Nara was made the capital, and of the ninth century Heian or Kyoto. Both became in turn the home of culture, of learning, of art, of literature, of refined ease and languorous dilettantism. In place of the broad mass of tribesmen, artificial social distinctions were established, an aristocracy formed, and the capital thronged with courtiers, imbibing the luxury and the civilization to be found there alone.

The Emperor did not long remain absolute ruler. The history of Japan is the history of the rise and fall of several great families who secured control of the Imperial person and, without deposing him, became his intimate advisers, and who, while investing him with divine attributes, took good care that the actual power never left their own hands. For a short period immediately after the political reformation of the fifth century the Sogas held this privileged position, which, when they were overthrown, fell into the hands of the Fujiwara clan.

Fujiwara nobles filled all the important offices of state. Their relatives secured all the Court sinecures. Their daughters became the wives and concubines of the Emperors, and consequently the mothers of the succeeding rulers. Care was taken that the Imperial masters should in early years be debauched by luxury and ease, so as to be incapable of ruling the country.

They were encouraged to seek retirement into some monastery in the first years of manhood, so that their successors might be children, and therefore more easily moulded by the Mayors of the Palace and kept from actual contact with the world of affairs.

The very success of the new regime was the cause of its ultimate failure. Court life became divorced from the life of the people. Governors and Viceroys preferred the ease of the capital to the rigours of their provinces. Their functions were relegated to deputies, who began to usurp their superiors' authority. The maintenance of order and the conduct of local affairs had been vested in a body of petty officials, semi-administrative and semi-military in nature. These persons, as the higher rulers became more and more effeminate and inefficient in the performance of their duty, organized themselves into a separate class, possessing the real reins of power, with their own codes of conduct. Despising the fops of the capital, they rejected their culture, their comforts, and their principles. They inaugurated for themselves the ideal of the warrior—loyalty, courage, simplicity, single-mindedness, and, it must be confessed, vengeance for an insult, however slight, unscrupulousness as regards means, tinctured with bloodthirstiness and cruelty. This in a word is *Bushido,* the Way of the Bushi, or Samurai, the Warrior Knight.

While the nominal rulers in Kyoto were sinking into decay and dilettantism, the feudal lords and their Samurai retainers increased in power and authority,

rendering themselves free from interference by the central machinery, and at the same time increasing the distance between themselves and the remaining mass of Japanese humanity, so that there were in time three estates in the realm—first the *Kuge,* or courtiers, residing in the capital; second the *Bushi,* or knights; and third the *Heimin,* or commonalty.

This second class was by no means united. Each clan waged war against its neighbour. Bit by bit the smaller fiefs were swallowed up by the larger and more powerful. Negotiations and marriage united them into a small number of large parties, and at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. the feudal lords, who had secured the mastery of the country, were grouped around two standards, one that of the Taira clan and the other that of the Minamoto. At first, in the struggle which ensued between them, the Tairas were successful, but in 1185 the Minamoto nobles completely defeated their rivals, and became the absolute lords of the land.

In other countries this would have been followed by the deposition of the Emperor and the elevation of the victor to sovereignty. In Japan such an action would have met with an outburst of disapproval on all sides. The Emperor was and is regarded as divine, as exempt from human interference, and as possessing an authority incapable of descending to persons outside the Imperial line. It would have been easy, no doubt, to dispossess the Fujiwara family of their monopoly of Court offices and functions, but Yoritomo, the chief

of the Minamoto nobles, had good reasons for not doing so.

He was afraid that his own followers, if placed in Kyoto, would be corrupted by the Epicureanism of Court life, that they would lose their virility, their warrior spirit, their simplicity and vigour of life, which had been the cause of their success, and the loss of which would have resulted in their downfall. Consequently Yoritomo resolved to form a new Court and capital of his own, leaving the Emperor and his courtiers in possession of their shadowy and ceremonial offices, while taking from them all real power and initiative. It was in Kamakura that he founded the new regime, which became the headquarters of the Warrior Class, the centre of their military culture and their administrative system. When Yoritomo secured for himself the title of *Seitai Shogun,* or Great Barbarian-Subduing General, the twofold method of government was firmly established.

This curious division of power between the Court of the Emperor and the Court of the Shogun lasted from the twelfth century until 1867. The dynasty of Shoguns changed. The Minamoto authority was first exercised by a series of regents from the Hojo family, and both Hojo and Minamoto were overthrown by the Ashikaga clan under the leadership of Ashikaga Takauji, who, under the guise of restoring the power to the Emperor, secured control of the State for himself. When the Ashikaga family fell into decay anarchy for a while set in, only for order to be restored

by such men, notable in Japanese history, as Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and finally Tokugawa Iiyeyasu, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century founded the last of the Shogunal Houses. The Tokugawas remained in power until after Japan had been opened to the world by Perry in the middle of the last century.

Ashikaga had moved the seat of authority from Kamakura to Muromachi, near Kyoto. Hideyoshi established himself in Fushimi, a small village between Kyoto and Osaka. Tokugawa preferred Yoritomo's way of removing as far as possible from the Imperial presence, and located his power in Yedo, the site of the present Tokyo. Here while England was ruled by the Stuarts and the Georges the descendants of Iiyeyasu held sway. It was an era of peace and progress, of learning and civilization. During the preceding periods of warfare the arts and sciences had languished. Now they revived as in the eighteenth century in England, and we find histories, essays, and philosophical works produced in a constant stream.

It was a drowsy and languorous atmosphere, without competition or impetus. Foreign intercourse had been banned, since, in the sixteenth century, the Japanese had not been prejudiced in its favour. The Imperial Court had its ancient ceremonies, lifeless and unimportant, though even these were carefully watched and proscribed by the agents of the Shogun. In Yedo the various boards maintained their control over matters of national importance, while the local feudatories, but

imperfectly subdued, regulated their own internal affairs and grumbled at the power resting in the hands of the Tokugawa clan, who, in addition to their national importance, had direct rulership over large portions of the eastern sections of the country.

2. The Period of the Restoration

Such was the condition of Japan at the end of the Tokugawa regime, and though the Shogunate was seemingly strongly established and peace and prosperity assured, already there were signs of instability and weakness—prognostications of coming change.

One thing significant of this condition was that shortly before the Romantic revival in Europe, which played such an important part in literature and art, and which indirectly influenced politics, there arose a similar movement in Japan destined to be still more important, and to have a still more permanent and far-reaching effect. Like the European movement, it was a looking back towards the past through rose-coloured spectacles, a sympathy with the earlier ages of primitive and virile culture in contrast to the artificiality which had succeeded; and while chivalry, heraldry, Gothic architecture, and Gothic religion, were the chief objects of the one, the ancient pre-Chinese culture, Emperor-worship, and archaic organization and religion, were of the other.

The Romantic movement of England and Germany was a protest against the bondage of Greek and Roman culture in favour of the wilder, cruder, more profound

native culture of their own. In Japan it was against the code brought from China and other foreign lands. Buddhism, Confucianism, all were to be swept away to make room for the revival of the pure Shinto, the Way of the Gods, long since fallen into desuetude. The Court ceremonies, the divided authority, the conception of the State as a machine, were to be cast aside, and Japan was to be ruled once more by the divine descendant of the Sun Goddess, who must be obeyed whether for weal or for woe.

The growth of the Romantic movement may be cited as the first of the causes of the downfall of the old regime. The second may be found in the economic degeneration which was gradually taking place. The Tokugawas were excellent politicians, but bad financiers. Taxation was unequal and unjust, and the method of expenditure wasteful. There were no productive industries to offset the increase of luxury and extravagance. Japan's foreign trade was so arranged as to be practically all import and no export, save of the precious metals, so that she became gradually denuded of her gold, silver, and copper. Bribery and corruption among the officials became rife, and the cumbrousness of the organization precluded efficiency. Finally, the droughts and famines which occurred at frequent intervals in the early decades of the nineteenth century aroused national discontent and the desire for change.

To this must be added the third and most important cause, jealousy on the part of the western lords. To

begin with, the Tokugawa clan was only one among many. There were not a few of the western fiefs under its nominal suzerainty which rivalled it in extent and influence. It was only the extraordinary genius of men like Iiyeyasu that had given the Tokugawas their overwhelming predominance, and as their descendants became more and more vacillating and pusillanimous, these feudal lords grew ever more restive under the yoke.

Finally the question of foreign intercourse brought matters to a head. Perry in 1853 had forced the Shogun to open the country to Europeans and Americans. These privileges were extended in 1858 by Harris, the American representative, who succeeded in negotiating a complete commercial treaty. The Rubicon passed, the Shogunal authorities decided to turn over an entirely new leaf. Schools were opened, foreign experts engaged, and an attempt made to reorganize the army and navy on a European footing. This action was the cause of much dissatisfaction throughout the country.

Foreigners have always been regarded with extreme suspicion in Japan. Even under the thickest veneer of politeness and courtesy there remains an undercurrent of distrust and dislike of any alien. The western clans, aloof from intercourse with Europeans, were especially susceptible to this feeling, and, what is more, found it convenient to use the anti-foreign sentiment as a weapon in their attacks on the Shogun. The Shogun was accused of plotting with the foreigner

to ruin the country; the Shogun was too weak to restrain foreign aggression, and all good men should rally to the cause of the Emperor and for ever drive the barbarians into the sea.

It was such causes as these that brought about the formation and prosperity of the Imperial party. In it were found the courtiers anxious to seize once more the power of state, members of the western clans desirous of humbling their rivals to the very dust, anti-European fanatics preaching the gospel of "splendid isolation," romantic dreamers awaiting the revival of the divine rights of the Emperor, reformers genuinely interested in the national welfare (though not unwilling to be the means themselves to secure this end), conservatives anxious for a return to the old, radicals looking forward to a complete renovation.

The motto of the party was *Sono-joi,* reverence the Emperor, expel the barbarian. Secret societies were formed to extend these principles, and numerous intrigues begun. Notwithstanding the variety of persons concerned with the movement, the leadership and inspiration of the cause was to be found in a small body of Samurai retainers of the lords of such clans as Choshu and Satsuma. They were seneschals who had control over the policy of their masters, and used their names to further ends of their own. This small coterie of self-constituted leaders contained the cleverest brains of the country, and as the whole future governance of the Empire devolved upon their shoulders, their importance cannot be overestimated.

Their intrigues were, for the most part, highly successful, though occasionally lack of experience caused them to blunder. A plot was made whereby the Choshu clan was to carry off the Emperor (with his connivance) and raise the standard of revolt. This was discovered and frustrated. Again, their anti-foreign agitation, meant to impede the actions of the Shogun, resulted in events deleterious to themselves. The murder of foreigners by their agents brought greater pressure on the country from abroad, and the proud fortresses of Satsuma and Choshu had to be bombarded by English war-ships before these fanatics could be brought to their senses.

Still, the whole *Zeitgeist* was in their favour, and it was realized that sooner or later the Imperialists would be successful. Their cause was benefited by one accident. The old Shogun died, and there was some difficulty in finding his successor. Eventually a man was selected from that branch of the Tokugawa family which had always been more faithful to the Emperor than to the Shogunal cause, and even in personal character Keiki, the last of the Shoguns, was peculiarly fitted to play into the hands of his enemies.

Eventually the Samurai coterie induced most of the western clans to adopt a uniform policy, and, this important step taken, this group framed a letter towards the end of 1867, signed by most of the powerful western fiefs, and supported even by the lords of Owari and Echizen (two of the prominent branches

of the Tokugawas), calling upon the Shogun to resign his office and powers into the hands of the Emperor.

Little or no resistance could be offered to this demand. The Yedo treasury was empty, the officials dissatisfied, the army inferior to the forces which the feudatories could put into the field, the Shogun himself half-hearted, and the whole religious weight of the Imperial prerogative enlisted on the side of the petition. On November 3, 1867, the Shogun abdicated, and the government fell into the hands of the organizers of the Imperial party.

CHAPTER III

THE ABOLITION OF FEUDALISM

1. The Period of Reorganization. 2. The Centralization of Authority.

1. THE PERIOD OF REORGANIZATION

THE path of the small group of men, the Samurai retainers or seneschals of the great western lords who had gained control of the State, was at first no easy one. The Emperor and the *Kuge* (courtiers) had been eagerly looking forward to their restoration to power, determined to enjoy their long-lost privileges to the fullest possible extent. The Daimyo or feudal lords who had brought about the change considered that they had no less a right to the fruits of office, and since both parties were no less incompetent than powerful, it followed that both sections had to be appeased by high-sounding names, and yet so placed that they could not interfere with the policy of the Samurai Bureaucrats, who were to remain the real masters of the State. The position of Prime Minister (*Sosai*) was filled by a Prince of the Blood, so that neither Kuge nor Daimyo could be jealous of his position, while around him were such men as Kido, Okubo, *et al.*, men of lower Samurai origin, who effaced their

names and offices and pulled the strings from behind the scenes. The *Gijo,* or Court of Senior Councillors, was filled by the Kuge and Daimyo in about equal proportions, while the *Sanyo,* or Court of Junior Councillors, consisted of five Kuge and fifteen Samurai of representative western clans.

The duties and authority of the Emperor constituted another very delicate question, for the leaders of the new Government had no intention that the Restoration, as it was called, should result in the assumption of real and personal power by the Divine Ruler. He was to be the figure around which clustered the emblems of authority, but his political privileges were to devolve upon the Bureaucrats. In point of fact, the new Government was to be as Shogunal in its essence as its predecessors, save that, in place of one Regent with a separate Court, supreme rights were to be exercised by a group of inconspicuous oligarchs.

This attitude was consistent with the whole development of the nation. Each new dynasty of Shoguns had come into power by some family taking up arms against the usurpers of the Imperial prerogatives. Having overthrown the existing rulers and secured supreme authority, they continued to exercise it in the name of the Emperor. The Fujiwaras overthrew the Soga family on this pretext, the Ashikagas the Hojos, and so on in the other cases, so that, though we have the perpetual cry of the divine right of the descendants of the Lady *Amaterasu,* the Goddess of the Sun, the fact remains that ever since Japan came

into contact with any form of civilization actual jurisdiction has never been for any lengthy period in the Emperor's hands.

In the present instance the relations between the Court and the Bureaucracy were much facilitated by the sudden demise in 1867 of the Emperor Komei and the consequent accession of the Emperor Meiji (or Mutsuhito). Komei was a member of the old school, and withal bigoted, obstinate, and aggressive. These qualities served a very useful purpose in combating the Shongunate, but would have made it impossible for the new Bureaucracy to work with him. Mutsuhito was a boy of only fourteen years who manifested great possibilities, and who, further, had shown himself sufficiently docile to serve all purposes. In fact, so obvious was the advantage to be gained by the change of rulers that there are many rumours current in Japanese circles that the old Emperor was poisoned at the suitable moment. However this may be, the boy Emperor came to the throne at a most opportune moment, and proved willing to be guided by his advisers.

All this time, it must be remembered, the Imperialists were believed to be bitterly anti-foreign, and it was supposed that on coming to power they would abrogate the treaties entered into by the Shogunate with the Occidental nations. Now that Komei was gone, a great change took place. Chauvinism had played a very important part in the Imperialist propaganda, and had served to oust the Tokugawas. At this period, however, its con-

tinuance would only complicate matters, and might involve Japan in a war with which she would be utterly unable to cope.

Accordingly, not only were friendly overtures made to the representatives of foreign powers, but Japan attempted to entirely remodel herself on European lines. It took some time for this fact to sink into the minds of the rank and file of the Samurai. Now that the old order was destroyed, many such persons made attacks on the Occidental residents in the country, killing some and injuring others, Sir Harry Parkes, the British Diplomatic Representative, being the object of one such outrage. All these were followed by deep apologies on the part of the Emperor, restitution to the injured or their relatives, and prompt punishment of the offenders.

Gradually promising youths were sent abroad to study, foreign experts were engaged, Occidental methods of administration inaugurated, and Japan placed on a footing with the Western Powers—all this, it must be remembered, by men avowed to expel the barbarian, who overthrew the Shogun on the ground that he was dallying too much with Europeans and introducing strange customs in the country.

One other problem which perplexed the oligarchs in the early days was the administration of the Tokugawa fiefs. When Keiki, the last of the Shoguns, retired, he intended merely to step down from his unique position in the ranks of the territorial nobles, keeping all of his private estates; though surrendering to the

Emperor that portion of his rights and privileges which were of a national reference, yet remaining the largest single feudal lord in the country. The new rulers, however, looked at matters in a different light. In the first place, they were the representatives of the western clans, who had long regarded the Tokugawas with deadly hatred, and were only too glad to confiscate their lands. Secondly, they were looking forward to the abolition of feudalism, when all land would be held directly under the Emperor, and they took this opportunity of seizing as much territory as possible for the purpose.

Accordingly, all the fiefs and lands immediately under the control of the Tokugawas were considered as passing under the direct authority of the Imperial Government, and the ancient lords dispossessed. This was the cause of a civil war on a small scale, started by the remnants of the Tokugawa forces. These, however, were soon checked, and the Government at once parcelled this land out into rural and urban prefectures (*Fu* and *Ken*), each being again divided into cities (*Shi*) and counties (*Gun*), while the latter was again cut up into villages (*son*) and towns (*cho*). Minute regulations were issued for the ordinance of each, and governors and other officials appointed and despatched to their respective posts.

The remainder of the Empire—in fact, the larger part—was still in a state of feudalism, divided into a large number of fiefs, each ruled over by a Daimyo or Shomyo, and practically independent of the central

Government on all matters affecting itself alone. Each lord regulated all affairs appertaining to administration, raised taxes, coined money, built roads, exercised judicial authority, and looked with a jealous eye to any encroachment upon his power. This position occasioned the new Bureaucracy intense dissatisfaction, and from 1868 to 1871 practically all their efforts were directed to the total abolition of feudalism and the complete centralization of all authority. Their measures were, on the whole, extremely politic, and eventually met with success.

2. The Centralization of Authority

In the first place, soon after the Restoration, the Government, speaking through the Emperor, was careful to emphasize the latter's "supreme power and authority" over all, as against the pretensions of the clans to sovereign rights. This, as Maclaren observes in his excellent *Political History of Japan in the Meiji Era,* "was not in itself so startling, for the Shogunate had always issued much the same sort of *pronunciamiento,* and the feudal lords had paid attention or not as the circumstances required." In this case, however, the Emperor presumed sufficiently upon his prestige to attempt to regulate that henceforth they were not to coin money, bestow honours, engage foreigners, or enter into alliance either with alien powers or with other clans in their own country. Further, the soldiery which each noble might keep in his domain, as well as his retinue, was strictly curtailed.

Up to this time there had been no means of direct communication between the central Government and the organs of local administration, but in 1868 it was ordered that in every fief there should be appointed an official who was to serve as the agent of the Imperial Government. True, he was to be appointed by each lord and not by the central Bureaucracy, but this was a necessary preliminary step, and one which was followed later in the same year by a measure which insured uniformity of organization in each of the clans. Needless to say, this ordinance contributed considerably to the centralization of authority.

For two years matters remained in this state, the central oligarchy gradually strengthening and extending its power. After a great deal of difficult negotiation, the Bureaucrats persuaded their feudal masters, the lords of Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa, to form once more a strong and compact alliance, and, for a consideration, these nobles presented a memorial to the Emperor proposing to resign their fiefs and hand over to the Government their registers of the land and of the people. This proposal was accepted with alacrity, and having the support of these four all-powerful clans, the oligarchs felt sufficiently powerful to issue an ordinance compelling all the Daimyo to do the same.

The lords of these four estates expected to more than make up for their concessions by the acquisition of power in the new Government, and when these potentates had agreed upon any line of action, the

other feudatories could not but comply. Accordingly, in 1870 the whole of the country came under the control of the central board of officials. There were two things, however, which softened any ill-feeling arising from this sudden change. All the nobles were grouped together as *Kwazoku,* or Hereditary Peers, so that they should not lose in social distinction. Secondly, having surrendered their territory as semi-independent lords, they were reappointed to the control of them as *Chihanji,* or Imperial Governors, though with considerably reduced powers.

Even this compromise, however, was but temporary, and as soon as the nobles and Samurai had recovered from the shock of the change measures began to be taken to abolish the remaining feudal anachronisms. In 1871, after renewed intrigues between the four great clans, a decree was passed whereby the *Chihanji* were to forfeit their office, as did all their retainers, the land being organized into ordinary Ken or Prefectures immediately under the control of the Emperor, and administered by officials appointed and dismissed by him.

In return for all this, the Daimyo and Samurai were to be permanently pensioned off by the Government. The Daimyo were to receive an amount varying from one-tenth to one-half of their previous incomes; and since these had previously been forced to suffice for the whole machinery of State as well as for the support of their own households, it is obvious that this offer was extremely generous. With the Samurai, whose

revenue had been devoted entirely to the support of their families, such a proposal was not nearly so advantageous; but, on the other hand, though pensioned, they were left with full leisure and opportunity for taking up other posts with which to augment their income. Accordingly, though the abolition of their exclusive privileges was very keenly felt, this drastic measure on the part of the Government was received in stony silence.

Though in one way so successful, this centralization of the country placed the administration in a very serious predicament. In order to secure national unification the Bureaucrats were forced to promise in pensions far more than they could possibly pay. At a time when the country was practically bankrupt it was burdened with the support of three hundred Daimyo and four hundred thousand Samurai families with a total of almost two million people out of a population of only thirty millions. While the Treasury was empty, and the officials at their wits' end to find the money to meet current expenses, they undertook to provide one person out of every fifteen with a permanent income.

This, of course, if persisted in, was bound to lead to catastrophe. The expenses of the new Government were greater than all the Daimyate and Shogunate expenses combined; the revenues were less. Treaties with foreign Powers prohibited the increase of the customs duties above 5 per cent. *ad valorem,* and these treaties European nations steadily refused to cancel.

The chaotic condition of the country made it impossible to increase the land and other taxes, while it seemed out of the question to cut down expenses. Such being the case, the Government was forced to have refuge to foreign loans and later to large issues of paper money, the last resource of a bankrupt Government. In one year, to meet the expenditure of some 33,000,000 yen, the ordinary revenue only netted 3,000,000 yen, and the deficit had to be made up by such extraordinary measures.

Inoue and Shibusawa, the two officials in charge of the national finances, were in despair. They resigned their offices, saying that the country was at the end of its resources. Okuma was called upon to take their place, and by very drastic measures he succeeded in eventually putting the country on its feet. The pensions question was the first thing to absorb his attention, and in 1873, as the result of his recommendation, the Government decided upon the commutation of all pensions. At first, to accustom the people to the idea, the system was voluntary. Samurai with an income of less than 100 koku of rice (this was the way of computing revenues) were enabled to commute their pensions, and receive a total sum, half in cash and half in Government bonds bearing 8 per cent. interest, at the rate of only six years' purchase for hereditary and four years' purchase for life incomes. This low rate of purchase was accounted for by the abnormal interest then current.

For three years matters were allowed to remain in

this state, but in 1876 the commutation of pensions was changed from a voluntary to a compulsory basis and applied to all ranks, Samurai and Daimyo alike, irrespective of income. As modified after violent criticism on the part of the Samurai, the rate of purchase for all was to be ten years, interest having in the meantime gone down. As before, half the total amount was paid in cash, and half in bonds, but in this instance bonds bearing 5, 6, or 7 per cent. according to the amount of the income commuted.

Meanwhile all the other distinctive privileges of the nobility had been abolished. The Samurai were no longer to wear their coveted two swords, conscription was introduced whereby the profession of fighting was the business of all men and not merely of one section of the community, so that by 1876 almost all traces of feudalism had vanished, whereas only ten years previously it had been in full force.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW REGIME

1. The Personnel and Work of the New Government.
2. The Growth of Democracy.

1. THE PERSONNEL AND WORK OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

MEANWHILE many other things had taken place in the realm of general politics and administration. Almost immediately after the Restoration the capital had been moved from Kyoto to Yedo, which was rechristened Tokyo, or the Eastern capital, and the Bureaucrats set about putting their house in order. Old methods were cast aside, and the world was ransacked for the best features with which to replace them. Men who showed promise, and who also proved themselves docile to the wishes of the oligarchs, were sent abroad to study. On returning they were at once appointed to posts where their knowledge would be of value. Foreigners were engaged to come over and instruct the rising generation. A very complete system of education, based first on American and later on German lines, was introduced, which included primary, secondary, and higher subjects, with especial emphasis upon technical

branches. As soon as possible (1872) education was made compulsory.

The Army and Navy were completely reorganized. English officers were brought over to superintend the Navy and to train the young naval cadets. Until 1871 the French had charge of the Army, but immediately after the Franco-Prussian War they were dismissed and Prussians employed in their place. Arsenals and shipyards were constructed, and there were established military and naval academies, as well as special staff colleges for both branches of the forces. Military surveys were carried out, officers sent abroad to study special schools of tactics and strategy, and no money or pains spared to place Japan on an equal footing with modern Powers.

The same with other spheres of national life. French legal experts prepared a code based on the Code Napoléon ; American engineers were attracted to Japan to teach their methods of industry ; the Germans were copied in their Court organization, in their methods of State administration, on all matters appertaining to medicine, public sanitation, and science ; English commercial methods were studied, and as regards banking we find a hotch-potch of American, English, German, French, and Belgian methods.

The pre-eminent value of scientific research was early and clearly recognized. Agricultural experiment stations with model farms were established to advise the farmers with regard to scientific agriculture. In these nine departments were instituted : the section

of agriculture proper, dealing with the selection of seeds, crops, and tools; agricultural chemistry; entomology; vegetable pathology; tobacco; horticulture; stock-breeding; reports; and general affairs. In addition to branch stations scattered all over the country we find ambulant lecturers on agriculture, Sericultural Institutes investigating scientific data with regard to the silk industry, a Silk Conditioning House, an Imperial Tea Industry Institute, an Animal Epidemic Laboratory, Imperial Stock-Breeding Farms, and so on indefinitely. So, too, equally with agriculture, we find scientific work done with regard to the fisheries, manufacturing, chemistry, physics, bacteriology, and medicine, so that, inspired by the Government institutions, the whole economic life of the nation has flourished exceedingly.

The accomplishment of all these things, however, was by no means easy, for apart from external difficulties trouble arose from within the Government circles with regard to policy, and on many occasions so extreme was the diversity of opinion that a complete breakdown of the administration seemed imminent. We have seen how varied were the motives actuating the elements of the Imperial party, and, though the common ground of opposition to the Shogunate might temporarily unite them, once power had been obtained it was but natural to find party cleavage asserting itself. Unity of control and purpose was to a certain extent achieved by the fact that a small body of Samurai *Intelligenzia* secured for themselves almost

a monopoly of authority, but even in this small group we find, after the establishment of the new régime, three different tendencies, which rapidly assumed the nature of distinct and conflicting parties. We may say that these were—first, the Military Bureaucrats; secondly, the Civil Bureaucrats; and thirdly, the Radicals.

Regarding these three we find that the Military Bureaucrats were what might be called the Reactionaries, those who regarded the Restoration as a reversion to the past, who looked with suspicion towards ideas imported from the Occident, who regretted the downfall of feudalism, were uninterested in social reform, and looked forward eagerly to Japan's expansion on the continent of Asia, who desired Korea, Manchuria, and a large portion of China and Siberia. They pandered to the intensely chauvinistic spirit of the nation, and were somewhat impatient of the respect paid to treaties contracted with the Western Powers. This was the prevailing spirit of the large majority of the Daimyo and Samurai, and in the oligarchy was chiefly represented by Saigo Takamori, Goto, Soyejima, and Eto.

The second party, or the Civil Bureaucrats, were those in favour of reconstruction and reform, the introduction of the culture, the efficiency, and the methods of the West. They were opposed to militarism and imperialistic expansion. They desired to foster education, industry, and commerce, to codify the laws and to inspire scientific research. To them

these aims were incompatible with democratic control; they vigorously opposed Liberalism, free speech, self-determination, and representative institutions. This section, which constituted the core of the new Government, and was the party which guided the ship of State through all the troublous waters of the early days, had for its leaders Kido, Okubo, and later Ito.

Finally, the Radicals were those who were opposed to the cliquishness of the Bureaucracy, who for various reasons favoured the calling of a Diet, to be elected on a popular basis, to which the Ministers of State were to be responsible. Unlike the Radical parties of Europe, which are on the whole tinged with pacifism, the Radicals of Japan sought to increase their popularity with the people by advocating a policy of aggrandisement. This phase of political opinion was represented by Itagaki, and later by Okuma.

Roughly the three parties may be said to correspond to Tories, Whigs, and Radicals of old English politics, or even remind us of the present Conservatives, Coalitionists, and the "Wee Frees" or Labourites.

At first, needless to say, the conflict was between the Military Bureaucrats under Saigo and the Civil Bureaucrats headed by Kido and Okubo. The former viewed with alarm the rapid changes which the latter were able to accomplish. They thought that the abolition of feudalism and the reorganization of the finances were, at best, of doubtful benefit and should be subordinated to an expression of Japan's military power.

In 1871 Kido and Okubo, with other leaders of the second party, went abroad as ambassadors of Japan to America and Europe, to study conditions there and to endeavour to change the treaties which, several years previously, Japan had been forced to sign. Taking advantage of their absence the militarists adopted a threatening attitude towards Korea and China. The Korean episode concerned the question of tribute to be paid to Japan, and the Chinese affair the massacre of Japanese subjects wrecked on the coasts of Formosa (then a Chinese colony).

A general flare up in the Orient seemed likely, but at this juncture Kido and Okubo returned from their foreign mission. Up to this time all parties had been working in the Government as a sort of Coalition, but in 1873 a violent conflict of opinion took place. At first the outcome seemed doubtful, but eventually the militarists succumbed, and Saigo, Itagaki, Eto, and Goto resigned from the Government, though Saigo retained his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The Civil Bureaucrats took their place, and for many years thereafter retained absolute control of the State. Several ineffectual attempts at a compromise were made, and the Osaka conference in 1874 brought about a temporary reconciliation, but dissatisfaction grew more and more rife among the noble and Samurai classes, becoming especially violent in 1876, when the Government ordered the compulsory commutation of the pensions.

In the following year (1877) Saigo and his master

Shimadzu, Lord of Satsuma, raised the standard of revolt, and for a few months civil war raged in the island of Kyushu. The insurrection failed, however; Saigo committed *harakiri,* and the oligarchy steadily tightened its hold on the country. The failure of the rebellion showed the superiority of the new methods over the old, showed also the efficiency of the new Government and the ability of the conscript army to defeat the Samurai hordes which opposed it. For several years the Military Bureaucrats were thrown out of power, though from the time of the Chino-Japanese War they have once more ruled the country with an iron hand.

2. The Growth of Democracy

Though the militarists were soon defeated, the Radicals were not to be disposed of so easily. Public opinion had been steadily moving in their favour, and many of the reactionaries, observing this fact, joined forces with them in order to more effectually embarrass the Government. Newspapers began to appear, and the vast majority of them thought to increase their circulation by attacks on the ruling clique and by demanding a representative and popularly elected assembly.

The Bureaucrats withstood these attacks as long as possible, and in addition made several attempts to camouflage the real state of affairs. The Council of State (*Daijokwan*) which now ruled Japan was divided into an Upper and a Lower House, the former con-

sisting of the members of the oligarchy, the latter of representatives of all the classes, but nominated by the Government. The Government assured the people that this was an excellent substitute for a Parliament, but the failure of this body to serve any effectual purpose only increased the clamour. Itagaki forwarded a memorial to the Crown petitioning for popular government, and secret societies were formed with the object of insuring democratic reforms.

Bit by bit, as the pressure increased, the Government was forced to compromise, though in most cases the concessions were of the letter rather than of the spirit. As early as 1875 arrangements were made for an assembly of the governors of the various prefectures to discuss matters of national legislation suggested to them by the authorities, and to recommend certain lines of action to the Emperor, who, however, was free to accept or reject them as he (or the oligarchy) chose. As the Government had further the exclusive right of initiation and veto, and as the governors were appointed and dismissed by the central Bureaucracy, it was obvious that the plea that this was a popular assembly was ridiculous.

The next two steps taken were with regard to local self-government. In 1878 measures were enforced to convene popularly elected assemblies in each of the Prefectures. These bodies were to co-operate with the centrally appointed local Bureaucracy, though interference with the duties and powers of the latter was strictly prohibited. The principal privilege of the

Prefectural Councils was "to consult upon the Budget of the expenditures which are to be defrayed out of the local taxes, and upon the ways of raising the local taxes." As in the former case, initiation and veto of bills was in the hands of the executive, which had also the power to dissolve the assembly in case of conflict and to call for the election of a new one.

Two years later this modified form of local autonomy was extended to the divisions of the prefecture, the city (*shi*), town (*cho*), and village (*son*), which between them included the whole area of the country. As the powers of these smaller divisions were extremely limited, the assemblies had the further right of nominating the mayor, who, however, was to be approved by the Prefectural Governor before he could assume office. In the case of the cities the assembly nominated three persons, one of whom was appointed mayor by the Minister of the Interior, though indeed he could reject all of them, and call for three more nominees.

In all these assemblies a Standing Committee, later modelled into an Executive Council, was elected from amongst their own members to sit throughout the year, when the assembly as a whole was not in session, and advise the administration on the conduct of affairs.

To further insure dependence upon the central organization, the Governor of the Prefecture and the Minister of the Interior could override the decisions of the local authorities, while the latter were further

prevented from undertaking certain matters without first obtaining the consent of the higher officials.

The Government had hoped by these measures to appease popular agitation, but in this expectation they were disappointed, for having obtained so much the populace thought it possible to gain still more, and so disturbed became the state of the country that in 1881 the oligarchy was forced to promise that within the next ten years a Constitution would be granted, with a Diet, the Lower House of which would be elected by the people.

Meanwhile the Bureaucracy took measures to prepare themselves and the country for the great change. In 1885 the Council of State which had had charge of affairs was abolished and a Cabinet instituted. At the same time the Privy Council was established, and the Peerage refurbished whereby the old Kuge and Daimyo, at that time grouped together under the single category of Kwazoku, were to be divided into the five ranks of Baron, Viscount, Count, Marquis, and Prince, while other ranks and gradations were simultaneously instituted.

By this time all the early leaders of the official coterie had departed. Saigo and Eto had died in abortive insurrections; Itagaki and Okuma relegated to the class of radical agitators; Kido had resigned in 1875 over the growth of militarism; Okubo had been assassinated in 1878; and the man who was destined to take their place, and to become the greatest of all the Japanese Bureaucrats, was Ito, who continued to

lead the country through all the perils of its development until it was universally recognized as a first-class Power, when at last he succumbed to the military clique. In private life Ito was extremely lascivious and unprincipled, in official life dictatorial and unscrupulous; but his genius for organization and administration cannot be overestimated.

He it was who carried through all the preceding changes, and he it was who, being selected to go abroad and examine carefully the systems of government in vogue in European nations, was appointed to frame the new Constitution for Japan. As an Imperialistic Bureaucrat Ito ruled out as models America and France as republics and England with her responsible Government, so that it was in Germany, then under the sway of Bismarck, that he found what he thought to be the ideal. Its officialism, its system, its efficiency, its centralization, immeasurably affected him, and through him Japan was henceforth imbued with a love for Prussia and all things Prussian.

CHAPTER V

JAPAN AS A WORLD POWER

1. The Constitution—and After. 2. Japanese Parties and Policies.

1. THE CONSTITUTION—AND AFTER

AFTER having studied for some time at the feet of Bismarck, Ito returned to Japan, and in 1889 promulgated the present Constitution, which came into effect the following year. The details of the new régime will concern us hereafter, but suffice it for the present to say that, in addition to the Privy Council and Cabinet, the Constitution provided for an Imperial Diet of two Houses, the Upper to consist of representatives of the nobility and the highest taxpayers, as well as of life nominees appointed by the Emperor, and the Lower of representatives of the general taxpaying public.

The Cabinet was to be and is responsible to the Emperor alone, and has absolute control over the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service, even with regard to finance. It has the whip-hand over the Diet inasmuch as, in addition to a veto over all legislation, in case of opposition between the Diet and the Government, the former is unable to cut off money supplies,

since, should the current Budget be rejected, the Government may apply the Budget of the preceding year.

In consequence of these provisions the Government in Japan has more power over the Diet than the Stuarts had in England, than the Kaiser had in Germany, since all possibilities were taken into account in order that the ship of State might remain under the control of the small body of ex-Samurai officials. Nor had clannism died out. The organization of the Army and Navy was such that all the higher officers of the former were Choshu men, and of the latter Satsuma men, so that when a constitutional bye-law ran to the effect that the Minister for War must be at least a Lieut.-General, and the Minister for the Navy at least a Vice-Admiral, it meant that Satsuma and Choshu men almost invariably filled these two posts, and also that these two clans could prevent the formation of a ministry by forbidding their minions to accept office, or to do so only on certain specified conditions. These problems have occasionally come into prominence when progressive ministries like that of Okuma have been forced into doing many things against their wills by having to pander to the military and naval elements.

Another feature of great importance in Japan is the Genro, or Elder Statesmen. These are a small and unofficial group of men, survivors of the set of officials who had a prominent part in the reorganization of 1868, who, though nominally retired, have continued to exert a most important influence upon the Emperor

and the State. They are consulted on all matters of exceptional moment, from the making of war to the signing of peace. More important still was and is the part played by them in the making and unmaking of ministries. Cases have often occurred where Cabinets with full support in both Houses of the Diet have been suddenly and mysteriously given their *congé* through the intrigues of these semi-retired oligarchs. The downfall of the Saionji Cabinet in 1908 and the appointment of the Military Reactionaries to power in 1916 are notable examples.

In spite of this ingenuity of organization, however, the constitutional development of Japan for many years after 1890 was no smooth one. Two of the most powerful politicians in the country, Itagaki and Okuma, led the opposition. Between them they had an almost constant majority in the House of Representatives, and they were bitterly opposed to the ruling Bureaucrats, personally and on matters of principle. Both were in favour of a responsible Cabinet, and both had suffered severely at the hands of the Satsuma and Choshu officials. The fact that they did not combine, but led two different parties—Okuma the Kaishinto or Progressives, and Itagaki the Jiyuto or Liberals—shows only how large a part personalities instead of principles played in Japanese politics in the early years.

Legally the Diet could not unseat any Government, but it was able to bring about a complete deadlock, obstinately refusing to pass either bills or budgets. Yamagata, Matsukata, and Ito, the élite of the

Bureaucracy, all led ministries, and eventually resigned in disgust at their own impotency.

At last the Bureaucracy decided upon two measures. One was the occasional formation of a Cabinet in which the Liberals and Progressives had a place, but were prevented from a real exercise of power by means of the Genro or Elder Statesmen, and by the monopoly of the offices of the Army and Navy by clansmen. This was the means adopted in the Okuma-Itagaki ministry of 1898, in the Okuma Cabinet of 1914, and to a certain extent in the Saionji Cabinets in 1908 and later. In addition to these, Ito and his followers often found it necessary to co-operate with Itagaki and the Liberals, who were successively known as the Jiyuto, Kenseito, and the present designation Seiyukai, while Matsukata and the militarists preferred to conduct negotiations with Okuma and the Progressives. In many cases it was thought that these Cabinets heralded the advent of party and responsible government, but before long it was recognized that behind the scene the oligarchs were supreme, that they could at any time bring about the resignation of the ministry, prevent it from carrying out certain measures, and force it to undertake others.

The other means taken to insure the success of the autocracy and hold in check the rising politicians was the revival of militarism and the doctrine of territorial expansion that had been more or less dormant since 1877 on the defeat of Saigo. The words written

by Gerard with reference to Germany held even more true of Japan: "Autocracy saw that if it were to retain its hold on Germany it must lead the nation into a short and successful war. This is no new trick of a ruling and aristocratic class. . . . Whenever the people showed a disposition to demand their rights, autocracies have always turned to war as the best antidote against the spirit of democracy."

Japan has resorted to this theory on several occasions—as in 1894, when the Government forced hostilities on China; in 1904 with Russia; in 1910 by the annexation of Korea; in 1916 by the demands on China; and in 1917 by the Siberian expedition. Take, for example, the first instance, the case of Ito in 1894. He had found it practically impossible to hold his own, or even to keep the Constitution together, and, though a stern follower of the peace-loving Kido and Okubo, he found himself forced to reawaken the chauvinistic spirit of the nation by provoking the war with China.

This move was for the time being eminently successful. The Diet had been a mob of raging fanatics, but on the opening of hostilities became instantly submissive. The turbulent populace went wild with national enthusiasm, and Ito became the most popular man in the Empire. Budgets that had previously been the centre of conflict were passed without a murmur, and in consequence the Ito ministry remained in power for over four years—an unusually long period in Japan.

The very success of Ito's move, however, brought about his ultimate downfall. The appetite of the

people was but whetted by the Chinese War, and they came to demand, more and more, what was termed a strong hand in foreign relations. To this clamour Ito and Inoue, the leaders of the purely civilian Bureaucrats, were unwilling to accede, so that from this time onward Yamagata, Matsukata, Katsura, and their friends, the leaders of the militarists, assumed a preponderating influence on the Councils of State. They were in the majority in the Genro and succeeded in breaking the backs of all opposition. Ito, save for two short and unsuccessful ministries, was never in power again, and though he endeavoured to oust the militarists by allying himself with the Liberals (Seyukai) his efforts were practically fruitless.

Thus we see that the Civil Bureaucracy of the early days, after defeating the militarists in 1873 and 1877, eventually succumbed themselves to the principles which they had attacked, so that from 1894 the conflict has again become two-sided, but in this case between the military autocrats and the expansionist democrats, a conflict in which the former have generally been successful, notwithstanding numerous ministries in which the democrats were included.

2. Japanese Parties and Policies

Even within the limits of the Bureaucracy we find the gradual development of two widely divergent theories. These we may call the Territorial Expansionists and the Industrial Expansionists. The former, favoured for the most part by the Satsuma leaders,

aim at securing glory and provision for Japan's surplus population by territorial aggrandisement either in the north, in Siberia, or in the south, in the South Sea Islands. The second theory, favoured by the Choshu men, is that Japan should secure economic and later political control in China, and, turning completely away from agriculture, live as an economic parasite on her Celestial neighbour.

Both of these theories have to a certain extent been carried out. Formosa, Saghalien, the Loochoo Islands, the Bonin Islands, the Kurile Islands, Port Arthur, Korea, Tsingtau, the Pacific Islands belonging to Germany, have all, one by one, been added to her possessions. The Japanese regard Manchuria as the English, prior to 1914, regarded Egypt. Just as the English in their maps coloured Egypt with the British red, so do the Japanese maps allocate Manchuria to the Japanese Empire.

For a short time during the Great European War the Japanese populace had great hopes that Siberia, or large parts thereof, would be annexed, and consequently the popular support which had been given to the proposed Siberian expedition entirely faded away when the American Government insisted that guarantees be made not in any way to interfere with Russia's territorial or economic independence. Mongolia is at present the principal object of Japan's ambitions. The Japanese have attempted to assume the same position with regard to that country as was formerly taken by Russia, and by peaceful penetration Mongolia will ere

long be absorbed by the Japanese unless the European Powers intervene.

Nor can the other policy be said to be any less successful, for already China is in the hands of the Japanese. In 1916 Japan presented an ultimatum to China which caused an enormous sensation. The demands were eventually modified and have been kept secret, but they amounted to a "protectorate" over that country. The Japanese were to finance the Chinese, to train their army, to reorganize the administration, to appoint advisers, in return for special privileges and concessions. All the principal resources are mortgaged up to the hilt to Japan, the interesting point being that in many cases the necessary money has been found by the commercial exploitation of China itself.

Though the relations between China and Japan will probably tend to become more and more intimate in favour of the latter, it must not be supposed that over-cordial feelings exist between the two peoples. In fact, for the most part, there is mutual dislike, and the Japanese, forgetting their debt to Chinese civilization in the past, regard the Chinese as beneath contempt. In Japanese schools "Chinaman" is the vilest of nicknames, while the Chinese boycott indicates the sentiment of the Chinese people towards their neighbours.

In 1916, when the famous demands were made upon China, Okuma, the professed Radical, was still in power, but how much he was responsible for the

imbroglio it is as yet impossible to say. Shortly after this event he, for several reasons, resigned and recommended Viscount Kato as his successor. At the instance of the Genro, however, he was overruled, and Count Terauchi, the most famous of the purely military Bureaucrats, came into office. His ministry was the most reactionary and autocratic which had been known for years. The Prime Minister and the War Minister were men strongly imbued with Teuton ideals, and during their term of power many attacks were made on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, while in the early part of 1918 various rumours were afloat regarding a German-Japanese understanding.

Advantage was taken of the apparent success of the German armies to inculcate in the people belief in an autocratic and military régime. I well remember the then Governor-General of Formosa making a speech to some students wherein he stated that democracy always meant degeneration. "Compare France of Louis XIV. with the France of to-day, Russia under the Czars with Russia under the Bolsheviks. China, Mexico, the South American republics, can these be cited as great Powers? Even America [the United States] lacks that sustaining power that only strong Empires can possess."

Under this ministry the Japanese position in China was consolidated, but expansion in the north and south and the Siberian expedition took up a large amount of its attention, while the national wealth was immensely increased. Had the Germans been victorious the

Cabinet would probably have remained in office for some time, but in the autumn of 1918 the triumph of democracy abroad, combined with numerous local discontents, brought about its downfall.

The problem of finding a successor was not easy. The oligarchy had still complete power and had no intention of giving over the reins of office to the Radicals, while at the same time some concession towards popular opinion had to be made. Eventually Hara, the head of the Seiyukai, the ex-Liberals, formed the new ministry and undertook the trying task of reconstruction. Hara had remained a commoner, and as he was the first commoner to become Prime Minister he could on this account be put forward as a democrat, no emphasis being laid on the fact that he had been a consistent supporter of the Terauchi Cabinet.

In one sense Hara may be said to be the revival of the old Civil Bureaucrats of the Kido, Okubo, and Ito type, for though opposed to the Radicals he has no connection (directly at least) with the army. On the other hand, he is an ardent imperialist and expansionist, and his measures show that he is an advocate of the industrialist school, with a "firm hand" in China. For many years past he has been a believer in "Asia for the Asiatics," and in answer to the "Yellow Peril" has raised the cry of the "White Peril," so that he cannot be said to look with too favourable an eye on European expansion.

The political future of Japan is shrouded in mystery.

The result of the war was entirely unexpected, and may be said to have come as a severe shock to the nation. From this she has not yet recovered, and it may be that as a result of it she will yet swing into the stream of democracy. At present, however, she is the last stronghold of bureaucracy and autocracy, and as such must be carefully observed.

PART II

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY CONSTITUTIONS

1. Government in the Tokugawa Era. 2. In the Era of Transition. 3. In the Early Reconstruction Period. 4. In the Later Reconstruction Period.

WE have examined the background of the modern development of Japan, the topography and the resources of the Empire; and we have briefly reviewed, chronologically, the principal events which occurred subsequent to the Restoration in 1868 and the epoch of reconstruction and reform which followed.

A more interesting but more difficult task now confronts us—the attempt to examine separately each one of the different phases of Japan's modern expansion; and to outline not merely the actual occurrences but also to point out something of the compelling undercurrents, without a knowledge of which the course of events seems quite incomprehensible. The new school of historians has at least taught us the necessity of making history more than a mere chronicle of isolated facts. We realize that the philosophy as well as the interest and importance of history consists in an understanding of tendencies—in the *Zeitgeist* rather than in the external events of a particular epoch.

Such being the case, it becomes necessary to take what is after all the most important aspect of a civilization—its government and method of administration—and endeavour to realize more in detail the evolution of the modern political organization of Japan and the manner in which its Constitution has adapted itself to practical life. This is a matter of no mean interest when we remember that the sudden adoption of Occidental schemes of administration by Orientals unacquainted with the traditions of which they are the outcome was an experiment of considerable boldness.

In order that we may more completely comprehend the real nature of the contemporary administration it is necessary to briefly review and summarize the system which it superseded, as well as the temporary phases which marked the period of transition.

1. Government in the Tokugawa Era, 1612-1868

Beginning with the Tokugawa era, that epoch of some three hundred years immediately prior to the reopening of Japan to foreign intercourse, it is essential to bear in mind the social and political order of which its government was the outcome.

In Kyoto there was the Emperor, ruler in name only, but the centre of an immense cult, a reverence so great that even the boldest adventurer dared not aspire to his place and title, but whose practical influence was despised. With him were, of course,

the *Kuge,* the courtiers of the Court nobles, the effeminate descendants of the rulers of former days, enveloped in a state of dilettante culture and voluptuous luxury.

In Yedo, the site of the present Tokyo, was located the Shogun, an office held at this time by the Tokugawa family, who was the real or temporal ruler of the Empire, and who made and unmade Emperors at his pleasure (provided always that his puppets were of the Imperial family). He was accordingly the chief noble of the Empire, a large section of the country, chiefly in the east, belonging to his own feudal estate, the local rulers of which considered him as their immediate, direct, and personal liege-lord.

The remaining part of the Empire was divided up into numerous feudal estates, each with its own *Daimyo,* or Lord, who was practically independent as far as local affairs were concerned, but who was bound to pay homage to the Shogun and accept his dictates on questions of national import.

With the organization of the administration at Kyoto we are not concerned. It consisted entirely of honorary and high-sounding offices, the Lord Chamberlain of this or the Lord High Chamberlain of that—offices hereditary in most cases, and with no powers attached to them other than with the institution of new ceremonies or the performance of old ones.

With the Shogun's Court, held at Yedo, we enter a different sphere. Here, next to the Shogun, were also a certain number of diplomatic and honorary

offices, emissaries to the Emperor, etc., but the main task of government devolved upon the *Dairo,* or Prime Minister, the *Roju,* the Senior Ministers, and the *Waka-toshiyori,* or the Junior Ministers. The *Roju* (literally, Elders) were five in number and were presided over by the *Dairo.* They had general control over the affairs of the country, including the management of the Imperial Court, the Court nobles, and all the *Daimyo,* or Feudal Lords. The *Waka-toshiyori* (literally, Young Elders), on the other hand, had charge of the lesser nobility, *Hatamoto* (knights banneret) and the *Kenin* (knights).

The only things corresponding to administrative departments were the *Jisha-bugyo*—a sort of department of religion which had charge of the shrines and temples and all persons connected therewith; the *Machi-bugyo,* a department superintending the affairs relating to citizens in general, including work of a judicial nature, and furthermore performing many of the functions of a Local Government Board; while the financial side of the Government was under the control of the *Kanjo-bugyo*, whose power was very wide and various.

A unique and important figure in the Tokugawa organization was the chief censor, together with his subordinate censors. These were the eyes and the ears of the Government, and acted as a sort of secret police or inspectorate. The latter were sixty in number, and under the direction of the *Waka-toshiyori* they travelled constantly throughout the Empire,

obtaining information to incorporate in reports to the central Government.

With the remaining officials we are not closely concerned. Their offices were largely of a ceremonial nature (M.C.'s playing an important part in Oriental politics) ; but we have seen enough to demonstrate the utter alienness of the Tokugawa method of administration from anything to be found in the West. No Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, War, etc., but only what corresponds to a Minister for the Peerage, a Minister for the Squirearchy, and a Minister for the Commons. This is, of course, partly accounted for by the fact that with local matters the central Government had little or no concern. The business of the Tokugawas was quite as much to keep the nobles in order as to govern the country.

It should also be remembered that each fief had a court and an administrative organization very largely copied from the central model, just as in the United States of America the national and the state Governments have much the same Constitution. Both the feudal and the central Governments in old Japan were careful to allow a maximum of autonomy to the local organizations and the lower classes.

As far as the local Government was concerned, the unit was the household, the individual having no legal existence. Five households formed a guild, the headship of which was usually hereditary. All the guilds of a village were grouped together under the authority of a *Nanushi* (mayor), who was elected either for one

year or for life. In the case of towns or cities there was a still larger group regulated by *Machi-toshiyori* (municipal elders), under whom, in turn, the *Nanushi* officiated. As Brinkley in his *History of the Japanese People* well says :

"The guild (of five households) constituted a most important feature of the local autonomic system. . . . Their main functions were to render mutual aid in all times of distress, and to see that there were no evasions of the taxes or violations of the law. In fact the *Bakufu* (central Government) interfered as little as possible with the administrative systems of the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial classes, and the feudatories followed the same rule."

2. The Government in the Transition Stage, 1868

All this state of things was, of course, entirely swept away at the time of the Restoration. The rights of the Shogunate were handed back to the Imperial party, half of whom wished to return to the administrative channels of the eighth century when the government was first reorganized on Chinese models, while the other half desired to adopt the system of government in practice in Europe. Eventually a compromise was agreed upon, though the extraordinary difficulty and delicacy of the situation required that the form of government adopted be subject to constant alteration and amendment, so that the constitutional history of Japan from the year 1867 until 1889, when the present

Constitution was promulgated, is a long list of tampering with existing systems and experimenting with new ones.

Into all these variations we need not wander; but it is necessary even for the simplest understanding of the present constitutional situation to know something of the more important transitional phases.

In 1868 when the Imperial party first assumed the authority of the Shoguns, the administrative provisions made were of the most tentative nature. Nothing could be done in the way of internal reorganization since the independence of the local fiefs was as strong as ever, and this early Government was intended merely as a nucleus around which administrative authority might gradually develop as the central Government was able bit by bit to really assume the reins of power and force the local lords to resign their semi-regal rights, though—and this is an important point—the downfall of the Shogun had caused the provinces in the east which were his direct fiefs to fall into the hands of the new Government, the administration of which caused no small embarrassment to the new and untried officials.

It was accordingly merely as a makeshift that the *Sanshoku*, or the Three Offices of the central Government, came into being. These were:

First, the *Sosai*—Supreme Head—a sort of Prime Ministrate, which, with subordinate ministries (the holders of which were the real leaders of the period), formed the executive and administrative branch of the

Government, or, comparing it with our Government, the Cabinet.

Second, the *Gijo,* Councillors of the First Class, half of whom were recruited from the previously-mentioned *Kuge,* or Courtier class, and half from the *Daimyos* of five leading western clans. These constituted an order which corresponded roughly to an Upper House, or House of Lords.

Third, the *Sanyo,* or Councillors of the Second Class, who formed a Lower House, only five being selected from the *Kuge,* while fifteen were taken from the Samurai, or Knightly class.

As regards the exact working of this Constitution we are left almost entirely in the dark. The last two bodies obviously played more the part of advisory and administrative bodies than legislative, and accordingly Maclaren says: "The *Sosai* determined what measures were to be undertaken, and consulted the *Gijo* and *Sanyo* on the methods to be adopted in each case."

At the period of inception these three bodies had probably little else to do than shape the general policy of the Imperialist party, but gradually, as the administrative authority fell more and more into their hands, it became necessary to construct executive departments. At first seven and then eight Departments of State were inaugurated.

At the head of each one of the departments was placed either a Prince of the Blood or a *Kuge* (Courtier), who was a *Gijo*, or First-Class Councillor,

and attached to each office were several *Sanyo,* or Second-Class Councillors.

3. The Government of the Early Reconstruction Period

After several attempts at tampering with this instrument of government, the authorities, only a few months after its inception, thought it advisable to completely reorganize the administrative scheme, combining all the functions of the Government in the *Daijokwan,* or Council of State, and its numerous divisions. It was this system of government, with frequent alterations, which prevailed until the formation of the Cabinet system in 1885 and the formulation of the present Constitution in its entirety in 1889.

Fundamentally this *Daijokwan* scheme hardly differs at all from the system which preceded it, notwithstanding the great change in names and nominal functions.

Its formation was provided for in the second and third sections of the famous Imperial oath which was issued at this time, and which ran to the effect that this Council was to be established for the purpose of concentrating all authority—whether executive, legislative, or judicial—in a single body, by which means "the difficulty of divided government was to be obviated."

"Provision was made at the same time for the division of the powers of the *Daijokwan* into three categories and for the exercise of these three groups

of functions by three separate bodies, which, while distinct from one another, were nevertheless integral parts of the *Daijokwan*" (Maclaren).

Though this *Daijokwan* had nominally only three functions, it was divided into seven departments, only one of which was legislative, one semi-judicial, and the remaining five purely executive. The departments were as follows :

(1) The Deliberative Assembly, consisting of a Lower and an Upper House, which fulfilled the legislative functions of the Council of State ;
(2) The Lords President of Council, who exercised Supreme Administrative control and acted as co-ordinators of the various executive departments ;
(3) The Department of Shinto Religion ;
(4) The Department of Finance ;
(5) The Department of War ;
(6) The Department of Foreign Affairs ;
(7) The Department of Justice, which attempted with the help of various minor courts to deal with the third function of the Government.

During the year following the institution of this scheme the Department of Civil Affairs was added, only to be abolished in 1871. The Department of Public Works was a permanent addition, while the Department of Shinto Religion was eventually eliminated and its place taken by a Department of

Education. The Department of Justice was sufficiently reorganized to permit of its undertaking the functions of the famous Board of Censors (*Danjodai*), notice of which one so frequently meets in both Chinese and Japanese history.

As we have already remarked, this *Daijokwan* Constitution is not essentially different from its predecessor. The *Sosai* gave place to the Lords President of the Council; the executive departments of the older scheme were more closely incorporated into the body of the Government; while the most important change was in the legislative branch, renamed the Deliberative Assembly. Here, as in the earlier case of the *Gijo* and *Sanyo,* there were two bodies, but the Upper House of the new Deliberative Assembly contained the personnel of both the old *Gijo* and *Sanyo*; while the Lower House was made into a more purely representative and legislative body. The Upper House, in addition to its legislative powers, was the sole body for the establishment and amendment of the Constitution, the exercise of the supreme judicial authority, the appointment of high officers, the conclusion of treaties, and generally the decision of all matters of policy, reminding us somewhat of the old Bundesrat of Germany rather than an ordinary second chamber.

While the Upper House was composed of members of the old *Gijo* and *Sanyo,* with a few fresh appointments from the outside, and was intended as an advisory council of the Bureaucracy, the Lower House

consisted mainly of representatives of the feudal clans, its members being, however, selected by the Crown. As for its powers, we are simply told that it should deliberate upon matters of policy under the direction of the Upper House. Its functions were in any case almost entirely advisory, since the Upper Chamber did not need its consent for any scheme it had in view, and served chiefly as a means whereby the Government could ascertain the general opinions prevalent in the country. From the beginning it proved a weakly institution. Its discussions were limited to matters of minor importance, and proved desultory and inconsequential. Accordingly it gradually became moribund, and, after having been reorganized and given a new name, was subsequently abolished. The real control of affairs remained, as previously, in the hands of the group of Samurai of the western clans, the Secretarial retainers of the *Daimyos* of the provinces of *Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen,* and *Tosa.*

4. The Government of the Later Reconstruction Period

This *Daijokwan* or Council of State Administration, which was a hotch-potch of ancient Sinico-Japanese and modern European organization, proved on the whole a success, and was permitted to remain in practice during the trying time that the Government was gradually wresting the authority from the clans and reconstituting the whole structure of the State. After a short period of trial, however, it received one

important amendment, which considerably altered the division and balance of power of the various groups and departments.

Owing to the cumbrousness of the organization, and the consequent difficulty in the working relationships between the Lords President of the Council and the Upper and Lower Houses of the Assembly, these last three bodies were abolished, and their places taken by the *U-in* (the Right Board), the *Sei-in* (the Central Board), and the *Sa-in* (Left Board)—all revivals of ancient Sinico-Japanese offices—and to these three all the other offices of the Government were subordinate.

Of these three bodies the *U-in* was purely executive and corresponded to the Lords President of the Council, and though wanting some of the latter's dignity and ceremonial authority was really more powerful and effective, while the *Sei-in* was the administrative section of the Government, corresponding to the Upper House of the Assembly, and deciding the general points of the Government's policy. Many of the *U-in* were also members of the *Sei-in* in order to secure unity of action. The *Sa-in,* or Left Board, was nothing but the old Lower House revived. It was a purely advisory body, appointed by the Government from the various classes of men likely, in name, to represent the nation, but actually to obey the behests of the ruling oligarchy.

Nominally this scheme differs hardly at all from the old Lords President and the Assembly. In point of

fact the difference was more important. An entire reshuffle of offices was made in order to shelve the Courtier and *Daimyo* officials and allow the Samurai Bureaucrats to assume more directly the reins of power.

Concerning the last important change in the Constitution prior to the existing system of administration, we need not greatly concern ourselves. It was largely the result of an attempt at compromise with the Liberals, who looked with a favourable eye to the democracy of America. As it turned out, it was little more than a moribund attempt still further to separate the legislative, judicial, and executive functions. Hitherto all three functions had been exercised by sections of the *Daijokwan*. In 1875, however, the Legislative Section (if the *Sai-in* can be dignified by this name) was reconstituted and given a place outside the *Daijokwan* as a legislative branch all to itself, and since at the same time the judicial powers were organized into a Supreme Court (*Daishin-in*) the *Daijokwan* became theoretically merely the organ of the administrative and executive functions.

In reality, the authority given to these newly constituted bodies was very small indeed. Both the *Genro-in*, or the Senate—as the legislative branch was now known—and the Supreme Court were appointed by the *Daijokwan*, and were furthermore hemmed about with such restrictions as to cause them to possess practically no independent power, as was only to be expected, since the little group of oligarchs had

naturally no intention of setting up real rivals to their own power which they had already used most effectively.

The members of the Senate (*Genro-in*) were to be chosen by the Emperor from nobles; persons at present or formerly of official position in the first or second grades; persons who had rendered meritorious service to the State; or from persons with political or legal experience and knowledge.

Rules were likewise drawn up for the guidance of the Supreme Court, setting that body practically under the control of the Ministry of Justice.

Finally, before passing to a consideration of the present system of administration, let us glance at the course which local and internal administration had taken. Immediately after the seizure of the powers vested in the Shogunate by the Imperial party, the latter had declared that all of the large sections of lands personally controlled by the Shoguns were to be henceforth the direct property of the Crown, and to be governed even in the minutest points by it. Accordingly this section of the country was divided up into a number of *Ken,* or Prefectures, with a governor and minor officials sent to each. The remaining part of the country continued for the time to be divided up into feudal estates, or *Han.*

Eventually, as we have seen, pressure was brought to bear by the four leading clans of the west, and all the feudal nobles resigned their estates into the hands of the Emperor. Nominally feudalism was abolished.

Lest, however, the changes brought about be too sudden, the former lords of the place were at once reappointed governors of the newly instituted Prefectures which took the place of the fiefs, though with greatly reduced powers. The name *Han*, or clan, was retained, however, for these semi-feudal prefectures, and Japan was still divided into the *Ken*, completely subject to Imperial control, and the *Han*, which were only partially so.

This arrangement was, of course, purely a transitional one, as we have already had occasion to observe ; and as soon as it was felt that the country was accustomed to the new conditions even these shadowy divisions were abolished and the whole country placed on the footing of *Kens,* and all authority centralized.

Accordingly, almost at one step Japan passed from being a group of semi-independent States into one of the most completely centralized countries in the world.

Into the exact system of administration inaugurated we need not pass. The Prefectures were divided into cities and counties. The counties were divided into villages or towns, with suitable administrative channels in all.

The only point to be noticed is the gradual growth of a would-be democratic movement. At first the control of local affairs was entirely vested in officials appointed from Tokyo, and local opinion had no means of expression. Eventually, to prepare the country for democratic institutions, or rather, perhaps, to divert

the clamour for democratic control into purely local channels, the authorities instituted a popularly elected assembly in connection with each of the local divisions, with which the administrative officials were to consult before undertaking measures of any magnitude.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

1. The Present Constitution · A Synopsis. 2. The Emperor. 3 The Rights and Duties of Subjects—The Diet. 4 The Cabinet — Ministers of State — Privy Council. 5. The Judicial System. 6. National Finance.

1. THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION: A SYNOPSIS

WHILE the older systems of government were by no means unsuccessful, in all sections the necessity gradually became felt to model their institutions more closely on those existing in the West. This was due not merely to the infiltration of Western ideas and the desire of the nation to group itself with the comity of European Powers, but also to the fact that the somewhat cumbersome organization of the older system was found to require simplification (which created the demand for the cabinet system of government) while the persistent demand for democratic institutions made it necessary to arrange some more satisfactory division of the balance of power, whereby a nominally democratic and popularly elected body might come into existence without causing the ruling oligarchy to lose their control of the administration.

At last in 1881, in response to popular clamour,

a Constitution modelled on Occidental lines was promised, to be inaugurated within ten years' time, and as a preliminary to this, in 1885, the *Daijokwan* was abolished and a Cabinet put in its place, in order that the Bureaucracy might have five years' start of the people in practical experience. Meanwhile Ito, afterwards Prince Ito, one of the foremost members of the coterie of oligarchs, was sent to Germany to study under Bismarck, and frame a Constitution modelled on more or less Teutonic lines. That Germany should serve as model should cause no surprise. Temperamentally the Teutons and the Japanese had and have much in common. Nationalism, Imperialism, militarism, formalism, a respect for codes, for system, for organization, and for efficiency, were and are common characteristics, while points of more immediate interest in the choosing of a Constitution pointed no less unmistakably to Germany.

The Constitution, as it was eventually created, took several years, and its advent was eagerly awaited, though the way in which the question of local autonomy had been handled, and the revival of the hereditary nobility with five ranks, based on old Chinese custom, but remodelled on European lines, as well as the personnel of the committee who had charge of the framing of the new system, left little doubt as to the general tendency it would adopt.

At last, on February 11 (a day which is now a national annual holiday in commemoration of the event) of the year 1889, the new Constitution came into being.

Its early history, and the general facts of the political development of the era which followed, we have (in the previous book) considered, so that it now remains for us but to examine the provisions of the new system as a whole, as well as to discuss the theoretical principles involved.

In the new scheme, as in the old, the seat of all authority was to be the Emperor, while the executive and administrative branch of the Government was to be in the hands of the Cabinet and the various officials subordinate to it. Legislative authority was to be vested in the Diet, composed of two Houses: an Upper, composed of representatives of the nobility, and the highest taxpayers, together with a certain number appointed by the Crown; while the Lower House was to consist of representatives chosen by the tax-paying population. The judicial authority was to be vested in the judicial courts appointed by the Emperor.

So much for the broad outline. The provisions of the Constitution are sufficiently important, however, and their application sufficiently far-reaching, to entitle it to consideration in detail.

The Constitution is divided into seven chapters, with a total of seventy-six articles, and though dealing with the whole problems of government it discusses only general principles, leaving all questions of detail of organization to the various administrative codes—*e.g.*, the Imperial House Law, the Ordinances on the Upper House, on the conduct of the two houses, etc., all of

which, on some points, contain even more important provisos than the main body of the Constitution itself.

2. The Emperor

The Constitution itself is divided into seven chapters. The first deals with the Emperor, his powers, duties, and responsibilities ; the second treats of the rights and duties of subjects ; the third with the Imperial Diet, its organization and powers. Then follow chapters on the Ministers of State constituting the Cabinet and the Privy Council ; the Judicature ; and finance. This last is a most important one, since in it we see how the Bureaucracy was able to continue its control of the State. Finally, the seventh chapter consists of supplementary rules or methods of amending the Constitution.

Considering the importance of the political organization of modern Japan, it would be well to consider each of the principal aspects somewhat in detail.

The first chapter, in outlining the powers of the Emperor, states that Japan is to be governed by a line of rulers "unbroken for ages eternal" who in addition to being sacred and inviolable are to unite in themselves all the rights of sovereignty, though exercising them in accordance with the Constitution. In fact, especial emphasis is laid upon the fact that it is the Emperor and not the people who is the source of all authority, which returns to him in case of urgent necessity. Thus, for example, he has an absolute right, possessed by himself alone, to determine the weighty matters of

making war or peace and of concluding all kinds of treaties. He may further place the whole Empire under military law, and thus suspend the Constitution.

The Emperor alone confers titles of nobility, rank, and orders, and has the usual privileges of granting amnesty, pardon, and commutation of punishment, etc. His legislative prerogatives are even more important. He has an absolute veto on all laws. He convokes, opens, closes, and prorogues the Imperial Diet, and can dissolve the Lower House. In addition to framing emergency Imperial Ordinances in times of crisis, most laws are very general and vague, fitted to be used more as general principles than as executive instruments, detailed and particular instructions being found in the special ordinances framed by the Emperor (or his Ministers) for the purpose. Thus, for example, a law may be passed authorizing the Government to deal with general sanitation. An ordinance would subsequently be enacted instituting compulsory annual house-cleaning.

A still more fundamental power rests with the Emperor. Besides supreme command of the Army and Navy, and the Administrative Bureaucracy, such as commonly rests with the Executive, he also determines their organization and standing. Even their financial footing is entirely under his control, for not only does he fix the salary of every officer or official but the money for their support is authorized by himself alone, without reference to the Diet.

3. The Rights and Duties of Subjects—The Diet

The second chapter, which deals with the rights and duties of subjects, is something in the nature of a Bill of Rights or a Magna Charta. It is interesting to compare it with its prototypes. In the Japanese far more than in the European instrument one meets with many qualifying phrases, which in a large number of cases nullify the provisions of which they are a part. To give an instance: "Japanese subjects shall, *within limits not prejudicial to peace and order* and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." "*Except in the cases mentioned by law* the letters of every Japanese subject shall be inviolable . . . (and) the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his consent." Again: "Japanese subjects shall, *within the limits of the law,* enjoy liberty of speech, writing, publication," etc.

In these cases the qualifications render the supposed liberties absolutely void. Thus the notorious Press Law explicitly provided for the close censorship of the press and the prohibition of "dangerous" public meetings, and since these measures were laws all prosecutions, prohibitions, and bans were held to be "within the law."

The third chapter deals with the organization of the Imperial Diet, the Japanese equivalent of the English Parliament. Like the latter it is divided, as we have

seen, into two chambers, an Upper and a Lower, and all laws, in addition to receiving the Emperor's consent, must be passed by both houses.

The Japanese form of Parliament presents several features of decided interest, especially with reference to the composition of its Second Chamber. It may be noted that except for the Senate of the United States of America, and those countries directly modelled upon them, no second chamber seems to have been so successful as that of Japan, though perhaps the epithets conservative and reactionary are not altogether unjustified.

As amplified in the Imperial Ordinance relating to the Upper House, its actual composition is as follows :

Of the ranks (five in number) of the Japanese aristocracy—Prince (Duke), Marquis, Count (Earl), Viscount, and Baron—all Princes and Marquises of legal age have *ex officio* seats in the House. From the remaining three orders, representatives are chosen. Each rank elects one-fifth of its number as members for a term of seven years, which term cannot be shortened, since, it will be remembered, unlike the Lower House, the Upper House is not liable to dissolution. This particular feature of the Japanese Constitution has proved particularly successful, since by stimulating competition to enter the Diet it has caused the Peers to take a keen interest in politics, and also weeded out the unfit, so that in many ways it would seem that England might do worse than follow Japan's lead in this matter.

The remaining members of the Upper House are chosen from the representatives of the highest taxpayers or are nominated by the Emperor. In the former instance, in each of the various Prefectures a list is made of the fifteen highest taxpayers, who act as electors in selecting one of their number to represent them in the House of Peers.

The Imperial nominees are supposed to be men chosen on account of erudition or meritorious services to the State, such persons being necessarily more than thirty years of age. As regards the number of such nominees, by the rule that the whole number of untitled representatives (members elected by the highest taxpayers plus the Imperial nominees) shall not exceed the whole number of titled representatives, the Government is prevented from suddenly flooding the Upper House with a preponderating majority.

The members of the Lower House are elected by all persons over twenty-five years of age paying direct taxes (*i.e.*, land tax or income tax) to the amount of 15 *yen* (about £1 10s.), later altered in response to popular clamour to 10 *yen* (£1) a year, the endeavour to institute manhood suffrage having so far (1919) failed. Members are elected for a period of four years, though the Lower House is at any moment liable to dissolution. All members of both Houses (save representatives of the highest taxpayers, who are themselves wealthy men) receive a salary of 800 *yen* (£80) a year.

Another interesting point is that the Ministers of

State are at all times allowed to enter and speak before either House, though, of course, permitted to vote in either House only if they be a member. This has meant that peers have been able to take a more prominent part in political life than is the case in England, where a noble, being debarred from debate in the House of Commons, experiences no little difficulty in attempting to head a Government.

The provision that, without special permission of the Government, the Diet may not be in session for more than three months of the year is also a feature which should not be passed over, and is obviously aimed at preventing anything like the Long Parliament of England. The spontaneous prorogation of the Diet at the end of three months prevents the Government from being forced to have recourse to the odious policy of forcibly closing its meetings.

4. The Cabinet—Ministers of State—Privy Council

The next chapter consists of two articles outlining the duties of the Privy Council and the Ministers of State. Though the shortest, the chapter is in some ways the most pregnant and interesting of all, for out of the simple clause "All laws, Imperial ordinances, and Imperial rescripts, of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of State, require the counter-signature of a Minister of State," we find the base upon which the gigantic structure of Bureaucratic control has grown

up. No interpretation of the letter of the Constitution could possibly foreshadow the actual system of administrative organization.

The matter is rendered even more complicated by the fact that Prince Ito had no intention of introducing the system of unified Cabinet control, as we now understand it, and which is now in force. Trained in the school of Bismarck, who was equally impatient of "committee government," as he termed it, and who insisted that a single official—the Imperial Chancellor—be the keystone of the Executive arch, Ito was desirous of introducing some similar scheme into the Japanese Constitution, and though by the omission of all details relative to the appointment, dismissal, responsibility, and mutual relationships of the Ministers of State from the Constitution he thus allowed these questions to work themselves out as the result of practical experience, he nevertheless ordained that the various Ministers should be individually and not collectively responsible for their official actions. Furthermore, though he instituted the Cabinet, it is obvious that he desired that the Ministers should, at best, be under the Minister President's (Premier's) direct control, as in the German prototype.

Events falsified both his expectations and his hopes. The group spirit—so very prominent in Japanese national psychology—ordained that the policy of the State should be framed by the Cabinet as a whole, and not by the Premier alone, and, except in rare instances, the Cabinet as a whole has felt it necessary to assume

time to come, admit the idea of Parliamentary responsibility. On the other hand, the incessant and marked dislike of the Lower House to a particular ministry has usually resulted in the long run in its downfall. The important point in this matter, however, is that though it has been able to bring about the resignation of the old ministry it has no voice in the selection of the new.

The Leader of the Opposition does not come into power, nor is the ministry composed of the leading members of the majority party in the Diet. On the contrary, Representatives are usually completely ignored in the selection of important offices—for the downfall of the old ministry simply means that one section of the Bureaucracy goes out of power and a new section comes in, often with a large sprinkling of the old Cabinet in the new.

In a word, we may say that actually the Cabinet is responsible only to itself, or to the Bureaucracy as a whole, but either Imperial displeasure or popular clamour may bring about its resignation, with the consequent result that another branch of the ruling official caste comes into office.

With the question as to the selection of the new ministry we come up against a peculiar and extra-constitutional problem. While in European countries it is usual for the retiring Prime Minister to recommend his successor, usually the leader of the opposing party, in Japan we find that in actuality the choice generally lies in the hands of the *Genro,* or Elder Statesmen, who are, as we have noticed, an unofficial and legally non-

existent body of men who played a part in the government of the country in the earlier stages of the post-Restoration period, and who as past-masters of statecraft have acquired an enormous but not over-popular influence.

The Privy Council is a body of much more vaguely defined but nevertheless very real power. It is composed largely of the Imperial Princes of the Blood, prominent nobles, and the ablest of the ex-Premiers and Cabinet Ministers. Unlike the Cabinet, it meets only when specially convoked by the Government, and then only to give its advice on matters of great and permanent interest—such as changes in the Constitution or in the Imperial House Law—or on matters relating to war and peace. On such matters its advice is of great import, and is usually followed, but in the everyday routine of government it plays no part.

5. The Judicial System

Next comes the chapter on the Judicature, also short, since it simply provides for the establishment of courts of law. Judges are appointed by the Emperor, but no judge may be deprived of his position unless by way of criminal sentence.

The Japanese judicial system is interesting inasmuch as, while most of the features of the Constitution were borrowed from Germany, and more particularly Prussia, most of her legal ideas were taken over from France. The whole of the Japanese penal laws have

been codified very much on the pattern of the Code Napoléon. Accordingly precedence, the bugbear of law in England, is very little applied in Japan other than in the minor interpretation of ambiguous articles in the text of the code.

Though modelled on French lines, the Japanese code took a number of years to prepare, and even in its present state shows distinct traces of compromise and an opportunism based on the conditions existing at the time when it was first formulated. It is, therefore, largely inapplicable to the present day, and already we hear of movements for judicial reform.

In the first instance French legal experts were employed, and they drew up a code on purely European lines almost without reference to the local environment, so that the preliminary codes which were the result of this research were singularly unsuited to a people just emerging from laws based on Chinese traditions derived from the times of Confucius. Especially was this so in the case of questions relating to marriage, divorce, and adoption. Accordingly, subsequent reforms had to be instituted in framing the laws to make them more fitted to the natural conservative instincts of the human race.

The actual Courts of Laws themselves are more cosmopolitan in tone, since in the way of Preliminary Courts, Courts of Appeal, and the Supreme Court, etc., American influence can be distinctly traced; the Court of Cassation of France did not, to Japanese administrators, seem so successful as the Supreme

Court of the United States, though on one important point the Japanese system, as it is in practice, conforms more to Continental than to Anglo-Saxon prototypes. Both in America and in England the Bench is something of a goal. After having served many years as a barrister a man is promoted to the position of a judge, and generally feels a corresponding pride in his altered title and status.

In Japan, where in early post-Restoration days the State had bankruptcy constantly staring it in the face, it was impossible for the State to pay its employees properly, and even the judges were not recipients of an adequate, much less a comfortable, wage. Though subsequent reforms have been instituted and a moderate rate of pay is in force, the fact still remains that the successful lawyer finds that he can earn at the very least two, three, or four times as much working independently than as a Government judge, and consequently the rule has been to secure an appointment to the Bench only long enough to acquire a name and a reputation and then to resign the post and resume private practice.

As a result of all this it goes without saying that the Courts have not the same tone and standard of efficiency as might be hoped, though of recent years a decided improvement has been noticed.

Another matter of extreme importance, and one which again is in agreement with Continental *versus* Anglo-Saxon custom, is the system of Administrative Courts (Art. LXI.). In England or America all cases

in which the Government or an official in the Government is concerned are tried in the ordinary courts, with the same procedure as in ordinary cases. In Japan the conception that the Government may be involved in a legal dispute on equal terms with a commoner is essentially repugnant to the native mind, and, as in France, special courts have been instituted to consider all cases which arise from claims against the Administration or any representative thereof acting in his official capacity. Needless to say, in these courts the Administration is itself very strongly represented.

6. National Finance

The sixth chapter deals with finance, and is in some ways the most extraordinary in the whole document, since we find that by provisions contained in its articles practically the whole of the Constitution is nullified, and the real benefit of what is granted to the people in former chapters is rescinded in this.

The framers of the Constitution were perfectly well aware that even though the Cabinet were nominally responsible only to the Emperor, and not responsible to the Diet, yet if the Diet or the Lower House thereof could once secure the purse-strings of the State they could at any moment obtain the complete control of any ministry, as the history of England had shown them. Against this event they took careful precautionary steps. In England, legally speaking, the Cabinet is under no obligation to resign as the result

of an adverse vote in the House of Commons. Nominally it is responsible only to the Crown, and cannot, save by the cumbrous expedient of an impeachment, be called to account for its deeds.

When the ministers know, however, that unless the annual Budget passes the House of Commons there is no money to provide for the Army or Navy, that all the Civil Servants (including themselves) will receive no pay, and that the whole machinery of government will be stopped, they dare not attempt to carry on an Administration in the face of a lack of confidence of the majority of the legislators.

In the light of this fact, Articles LXII., LXVI., LXVII., LXVIII., and especially LXXI., assume an especial importance. Let us attempt to gather something of their full significance :

(1) Article LXII. tells us that though new taxes must receive the consent of the Diet, "administrative fees, or other revenue having the nature of compensation," shall not come under this rule. This provision is of great importance, but compared with the subsequent points it sinks into insignificance and no longer demands our attention.

(2) Article LXVI. tells us that the expenses of the Imperial Household are to be unconcerned with the Diet, so that, come what may, the Emperor shall be entirely independent of the House of Representatives, and cannot be threatened by fears of financial disability.

(3) Even more important is Article LXVII., wherein

it is stated that "those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution upon the powers vested in the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen as the effect of law, or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall neither be rejected nor reduced by the Imperial Diet without the consent of the Government."

The full meaning of this provision may not at first be understood until it is remembered that all things relative to the powers of the Emperor—such as treaty-making, the Army and Navy, the Civil Service—are made entirely independent, even financially, of the Diet. The Diet not only has no voice in the regulations concerning the manning, equipment, and size of these forces, but it may not even reject estimates as to the necessary expense entailed for their upkeep. The Administrative Staff might be doubled by executive order, and the people have no legal means of expressing approval or disapproval. The Army might be quadrupled, and the Diet have no means of redress if it thought that such measures were unjust to the resources of the country and its tax-paying population.

(4) Article LXVIII. is interesting in that it shows that Japan departs from the custom observed in England, where a Budget may provide only for the current year, and where for the House of one year to lay down a scheme of revenue and expenditure for a number of years to come, when the composition of the House will have entirely changed, and with it financial ideas, would cause grave dissatisfaction.

The reason for the provision in the Japanese Constitution is probably to facilitate financial undertakings, and also to enable the Government to take advantage of a House of Representatives which is favourable to them, and secure the necessary money for desired schemes in the years to come, by which time a less conciliatory House might have come into being.

(5) The Article in the Constitution which most merits attention is LXXI., which crowns the power of the Government, and once and for all destroys any real power which the Diet might possibly be supposed to possess. According to this extraordinary article, in case the Diet refuses to pass the current Budget, the Budget of the preceding year spontaneously comes into effect. This manner of arranging the finances of the country may go on indefinitely, and the Budget actually in effect at any year may be only the resurrection of one originally passed ten years previously, since which time the Government has been unable to obtain the consent of the Diet to a new one.

This measure was meant, of course, to give to the Government a whip-hand over the Diet. In practically all other countries, in face of strong opposition on the part of the people, should the ministry insist on remaining in power, or should the Government consistently refuse to bring in a much-needed measure, the Lower House has only to refuse to pass the Budget for the Government to at once succumb, since the revenue measures would at once lapse, and the whole administration fall into a state of chaos.

As things are in Japan, however, the Bureaucracy is practically independent of the Diet. A large section of the work of government is carried even without the knowledge of the Houses; the Government may not be embarrassed, owing to trouble with the Diet, by the inability of paying all monetary obligations; and, finally, should the Diet prove entirely obstreperous, the Government is in a position to completely ignore it.

Such is "democracy" as we find it in the Orient.

The seventh chapter consists of a number of articles regarding the measures to be taken to bring the Constitution into effect (not, of course, obsolete) and to amend its provisions. All initiative in the latter respect rests with the Emperor, who lays the matter before the Diet by a special Imperial Ordinance. This being done, "neither House may open the debate unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members are present, and no amendment may be passed unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the numbers present be obtained."

Two other interesting points come to light in this connection. One thing is that the Imperial House Law, which regulates the succession to the throne and the control of all matters relating to the Imperial Family, is independent of the Constitution and the Diet. Secondly, that no change in either the Constitution or the Imperial House Law can be made during a regency. In this way are the prerogatives of the dynasty "coeval with heaven and earth" thought to be secure.

PART III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

plays. These were exclusively for the nobility and for the intellectuals. The popular theatre was frankly vulgar, melodramatic, improbable, and long-winded, and was attended almost exclusively by the lower classes.

Occidental drama has had a very marked effect upon Japan. Ibsen, Shaw, and more recently a dramatic form of Tolstoy, have attracted much attention and large audiences. Many modern authors have arisen who have composed a number of pieces along these lines. Of late there has been something of a reaction. The older dramas, somewhat polished and improved, have come into favour again, while the upper classes have manifested a renewed enthusiasm for the classic *No* and its farcical counterpart, the *Kyogen*.

Japanese painting is far too large a subject to allow us to consider it hastily or in passing. It is a matter which lies entirely outside our scope, but we may note that it, like most other points in the Japanese civilization, is alien in origin, being derived from Chinese and more particularly Buddhistic sources. To use the words of Porter, "One may wonder whether Japan would have developed any form of art but for the introduction of Buddhism. The original Shinto religion and Confucian philosophy appealed to the reason, but not to the senses . . . but Buddhism gave the major arts their first impetus. Frescoes in temples, shrines decorated with paintings, replaced without known transition the rough red daubs of the Chikugo tombs."

CHAPTER VIII

ASPECTS OF MODERN JAPAN

WE have examined somewhat too fully the theoretical foundations of the present administration in Japan, but considering the importance of the subject, the fact that, as things stand to-day, Japan is and will remain the bulwark of Bureaucracy against radicalism, the only important survivor of ruthless efficiency against liberty and democratic self-determination, even seemingly unimportant technical details assume a profound significance.

The fact that the Army and Navy estimates do not need the consent of the Diet, that methods exist whereby the Government may be made independent of the wishes of the people, is not to be brushed aside as details interesting only to the political economist. Not only do they concern anyone interested in international diplomacy, but even more they are bound to have an important effect in the whole domain of world government and reconstruction.

Lest, however, technicalities confuse us, lest the theory outweigh the facts of the case, we should not be content merely with documents, with an account of things as they are supposed to be. There still lies before us the consideration of the more important and

interesting aspect of the system as it has actually worked out—how principles have been applied, and with what success.

Anyone at all conversant with facts as to movements and tendencies in Modern Japan, as well as merely with the working of the machinery of State, will admit that the *spirit* of present-day Japan is bound up in what may be briefly summarized in the following three phrases :

(1) Militaristic Nationalism.
(2) Efficient Bureaucracy.
(3) Imperialistic Socialism.

Since for weal or for woe these constitute the soul of Japan, it would be as well to consider each of these three features in detail, and to examine the striking examples of each to be found in everyday life.

CHAPTER IX

MILITARISTIC NATIONALISM

1. Emperor-Worship. 2. The Modification of History. 3. The Inculcation of Nationalism.

TAKING up the first and in some ways most important point, the creed which we have perforce termed Militaristic Nationalism (though the expression is not altogether adequate or suitable), we may say that this principle has in turn manifested itself in three ways.

Most important has been the revival of the ancient Emperor-worship, and with it certain necessary elements of the national mythology.

Secondly, there has been the consequent modification, and, it must be added, falsification, of national history.

Finally, as the result of the two preceding, the inculcation of a strictly nationalist, and consequent military, spirit in the masses, particularly through the medium of the schools.

1. EMPEROR-WORSHIP

The first of these features alone shows how extraordinarily alien the conceptions common in Japan still remain to those of Anglo-Saxondom. Though the principle of monarchy has never seemed stronger in

England than it does at the present time, yet the conception of the Sovereign has of course developed into the idea of his being the symbol of the nation, a necessary part of the national and historical tradition, and outside the ken of practical politics and administration.

In Japan, where the Imperial principle is even more strong, a different mode of interpretation has been adopted, and the earlier conception of the Emperor as a divine and mysterious figure, the Son of Heaven and the supreme and absolute fount of authority, has been maintained, and in recent years even augmented, with the result that some interesting social and political anomalies are still in force.

It would be impossible in the brief space allotted to us to consider all of these, but the importance of the concept justifies our citing a few distinctive illustrations.

(1) Let it once be thoroughly understood that the Emperor of Japan is regarded not merely as a reigning Sovereign, but as a living God, and we see that certain things must logically occur. In Europe it is common to have the head of the ruler figure on the stamps and coins of the country. Such a thing is supposed to be a compliment to the person concerned. In Japan it is far otherwise. A stamp that must suffer the wear and tear of transit is hardly a fit object to bear the sacred features of the liege lord; a coin carelessly handled means that ordinary fingers will defile the sublime lineaments should they be stamped thereon. Just as

we may imagine that a strong outcry would be raised were a proposal made to have the stamps or currency bear the head of the Christian Saviour—at the most a picture of the Cross, the divine symbol, would be permitted—so in Japan, in lieu of the Emperor's profile, we find engraved the chrysanthemum, or the Imperial Dragon, or some other such representation of the Imperial prerogative.

(2) This conception of the sacred character of the Imperial picture is, however, carried to even greater extremes, and we find elaborate regulations made controlling the public sale and display of an Imperial portrait or photograph. Up to the time of the Restoration all such pictures were scrupulously forbidden, and anyone guilty of allowing the Imperial features to remain exposed to the public gaze was summarily decapitated. At the present time, when the sale of official copies of such photographs is no longer prohibited but encouraged, the idea of allowing them to remain absolutely exposed to dust and careless curiosity remains highly repugnant, so that all persons fortunate enough to be vendors of the sacred likeness must carefully paste strips of tissue paper over the face itself.

In the schools and public offices the Imperial portrait occupies a very important position. During most of the year it is carefully tucked away in a holy of holies, especially consecrated for the purpose. Only on the occasions of a national holiday, such as New Year's Day, or the Emperor's birthday, is the portrait hung *curtained* in the background of the platform in the

lecture hall. In the case of a school, the teachers and boys are then solemnly marched in. After duly disposing themselves in their proper places, the audience places itself in a reverential attitude. Then and not till then are the curtains drawn, and the spectators allowed for one brief instant to gaze on the countenance of the Son of Heaven. After three profound obeisances have been made, the portrait is once more curtained, an Imperial rescript is read to bowed heads, and an oration is made by the Principal on the virtues of the Imperial Dynasty. The hearers then disperse, and the portrait is once more reverently consigned to its receptacle for another space of time.

The extreme regard in which this picture is held is witnessed by the fact that in case of fire this is the first thing to be saved. Numerous instances have occurred similar to the much-extolled case of the pupil of a burning school who rushed through the flames into the Principal's room where the picture was kept. Finding that it would be impossible to bear it out in safety, he promptly cut the picture from the frame, and wrapping it tightly in the enfolding silk, slashed his abdomen, thrusting the silken roll into his intestines, and once more braved the flames only to be scorched to death, but a triumphant death inasmuch as the picture was recovered, crumpled, but unscathed.

(3) Another peculiar illustration of the veneration with which the Emperor is regarded is the horror which the Japanese feel at gazing on his Majesty from an elevated position. In Japan, as in many Oriental

countries, noticeably Burma, to be physically above another person is considered to be an insult to him. Even to have been on a higher floor is supposed to have detracted from his dignity. As a corollary of this, it is supposed to constitute a grave offence to look, let us say, from a first-floor window on any superior person passing in the street, and, of course, on the Emperor most of all.

Consequently there is now a regulation, rigidly enforced by the police, that, in the event of the Emperor passing through a certain street, all blinds and curtains are to be tightly drawn, and all the occupants forced to descend into the road. Any person seen looking out from an upper window would at once be found guilty of *lèse majesté* and seriously fined or imprisoned. Even the unfortunate European does not escape this rule. Numerous police-court records tell of some unknowing Englishman or American who, on hearing from his room in some hotel a noise in the street, peeps from his window to inquire as to the cause of the disturbance, and is noticed by the vigilant eye of some policeman and forthwith hailed before the magistrate.

(4) Another such feature of interest may be found in the fact that in the Sacred Presence even one's feeling of joy and loyalty must be suitably repressed and restrained. Anything in the nature of clapping, huzzas, or boisterous expressions of delight, would be felt as much out of place as in some great cathedral at the Elevation of the Host. In fact, the religious nature

of what is generally known as Emperor-worship cannot be too strongly emphasized. Among the lower classes any season of bad weather will generally be attributed to the displeasure of the Emperor at the wrong-doing of his subjects, a belief that found strong corroboration to occasional doubting Thomases when, after some rioting in the capital by a boisterous mob, an unprecedented typhoon struck the city and caused incalculable damage.

(5) Nor is the question of names any less seriously considered. To a Japanese observer the frequent occurrence among English subjects of such names as George, Edward, or William seems little less than blasphemous, in comparison with his own ideas, which decree that the sacred name be borne by no other person, even of the Imperial Family.

Nor is he satisfied even with this degree of earnest loyalty. He proceeds to argue that the Imperial name being sacred should not in ordinary conversation be mentioned at all—just as social etiquette in the West decrees that in secular conversation God shall be known as "The Deity" and Christ as "Our Saviour."

Accordingly, what has been done in Japan has been to regulate that, in addition to his real name, each occupant of the Imperial throne shall be given an assumed name by which he is to be known to his subjects. Thus, for example, though the present Emperor's real name happens to be Yoshihito, he is known to the Japanese world as Taisho Tenno, or Heavenly Emperor of Great Righteousness; while his

father's real name was Mutsuhito, and was known as the Emperor Meiji Tenno, or Enlightened Government.

In fact, so common is it to call the ruler by this assumed name that a large number of the Japanese are unaware of his real one. I can well remember the plight of a mayor of a small country village who was so loyal as not to know the Imperial title, and consequently allowed a small boy to be named Yoshihito, which was so registered on the official records. Upon this being discovered, he was at once called upon to resign, and not content with this, and as a most effective way of showing his loyalty, he committed *harakiri* in the prescribed fashion.

(6) Last, but not least, the question of the Imperial tombs must be taken into consideration. What is usually known in the Occident as ancestor-worship is, of course, very prevalent in Japan, so that worship at the tomb of deceased Emperors has been by no means a difficult thing to instil. Strange to say, the Emperor whose grave is the most popular and visited by pilgrims is that of the late Meiji Tenno, whose magnificent mausoleum at Momoyama, near Kyoto, is one of the most impressive sights of the world.

Here, under the great white artificial mountain, lie the remains of the venerated ruler. A shrine has been erected before it, and before it day after day hundreds, and on holidays thousands, of pilgrims go and pay their homage—homage, not, as we of the West know it, to a dead hero, but to the invisible and all-powerful shade ever mindful of the petitions offered him, capable and

willing of fulfilling them, for it is the belief of the Japanese that at death the soul is not allocated either to heaven or hell, but remains as a ghost haunting either the tomb in which lies his body or the shrine that has been erected to him. In the Shinto shrine there is neither image nor picture. The object of adoration is supposed to be actually present. On approaching the sacred spot the worshipper claps his hands to attract the attention of the deity, and thereafter holds direct communion with him, beseeching aid and invoking protection. There, too, the nature of the worshipped is supposed to remain unchanged. The evil man here is the evil god there, the great and the mighty here the potent and the munificent on the other side, save that in his invisibility and tenuosity there is added power. Great indeed is the need that he be placated.

Therefore is it that the shades of former rulers are supposed to be still watching over the land that they governed and loved; still will their spirits take pleasure in the adulation of the subjects of their successors; and all questions of national import, the making of war or the signing of peace, are solemnly reported to them, and their blessings asked upon the undertaking.

Why is it, the Westerner may ask, that the Japanese give this wholehearted and absolute devotion to their rulers past or present? Why is it that if the vast majority of Japanese boys were asked what was their highest ambition in life they would answer, and answer sincerely and unhesitatingly, "To lay down our lives for the Emperor"?

The answer to this question is not a simple one. Long training in the virtue of loyalty, instinctive respect for superiors, the inbred habit of bowing to authority, all these may be put forward in explanation, but most important is the universal belief in the eternity of the dynasty, the one unchanging dynasty stretching back until its origin is lost in myth and fancy—"coeval with heaven and earth" (such is the Japanese expression)—whose origin is shrouded in mystery, but which was certainly divine.

However extraordinary this latter idea may appear, it is none the less absolutely true. I remember asking the head-teacher of a secondary school, an instructor of the English language, and a highly educated and cultured young man, what were his views on the origin of the Japanese race. Quite innocently and sincerely he answered, "Oh, you know that *we* believe that we came down directly from the Plain of High Heaven [Takamagahara]." This is the gospel truth for the vast majority of the Japanese people, a belief officially taught in the Government schools.

For the teaching of the Shinto religion—the official code, which is compulsorily inculcated in the official educational curriculum—is that at the time of the beginnings of things, after several generations of spontaneously generated deities, there came into existence on the Plain of High Heaven a great primeval and divine pair, Izanagi and Izanami (a heavenly Adam and Eve), who proceeded to generate the islands of Japan and the eight hundred myriads of the deities who rule it.

Eventually, after several highly entertaining episodes chronicled in the official records of Shinto, the *Kōjiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and the *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan), they gave birth (indirectly) to three very important deities. These were: *Amaterasu no O mi Kami* (literally, August Heaven Shining Goddess), a female deity who was appointed to be the ruler of the sun; and secondly a male deity, her brother, to be the ruler of the moon, though strangely enough he was soon lost sight of; and finally *Susanowo O mi Koto* (literally, August Impetuous Male Deity), the god of force, and ruler of the Underworld, who promptly proceeded to quarrel violently with his sister, the outcome of which forms one of the most interesting parts of the official chronicles compiled originally by the Imperial command.

Suffice it to say, however, that the Sun Goddess, who in Shinto is the greatest of the deities, was eventually victorious, and after the lapse of some time sent her grandson, *Ninigi no O mi Koto,* to rule for ever, through his descendants, over the Empire of Japan, promising him her protection. The grandson, in turn, of this highly favoured person was Jimmu Tenno, the first human Emperor, who, as will be remembered, is supposed to have reigned some 660 B.C., from which time have come down in an unbroken line the rulers of Japan of to-day.

2. The Modification of History

Now it is obvious that on this point of Emperor-worship the Japanese Bureaucracy has put itself in a serious dilemma. In order to retain the reins of power they have found it necessary to rejuvenate and fortify the worship of the Emperor, in whose name they rule. In order to achieve this the divine origin as set out in the primitive mythology must be consistently taught. This, in turn, has brought about what we have already spoken of as the second feature of Nationalistic Militarism, the falsification of history.

This has been done in three different ways. First, in regard to the Revolution and Restoration of 1868, the real nature of the whole Imperialistic movement of that time is entirely cloaked under the Emperor's name, and the other elements, such as the anti-foreign movement, and the jealousy displayed by the Western clans of the powers possessed by the Tokugawa clan in the East, are completely hidden. Secondly, much has been changed or suppressed with regard to the history of the Imperial Dynasty during the Middle Ages, when the real position of the Emperor and his Court has been camouflaged in school histories, and, where such a thing is impossible, a systematic vilification is made of any person who was strong enough to be free from the necessity of observing certain ceremonial etiquette with regard to the sacred presence. Thus, for example, Ashikaga Takauji and Tokugawa Iiyeyasu are held up to national execration because of

the firm position which they assumed with regard to the Emperor, though they were among the finest administrators which Japan has ever produced. Any historical works which show their real character students are prohibited to read.

These two points are very important, and as a consequence, until the present order of things changes, Japanese history in the scientific sense of the word can only be studied in some European language. Even more far-reaching and absurd is the retention of the mythological story of the divine origin of the Emperors.

Shintoism teaches, it will be remembered, that it was Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun Goddess, who descended from the Plain of High Heaven and became the ancestor of the present Imperial Dynasty, "coeval with heaven and earth," and not one jot or tittle of this story is abated in the history taught in the schools.

In some ways, from a purely mechanical point of view, the Japanese schools are among the most perfect in the world. In the primary school elements of physics and chemistry, natural history (biology), astronomy, and geology are taught. In the middle or secondary schools (corresponding to the German gymnasium) a most complete general education is given, with equal emphasis upon mathematics, the sciences, and the humanities; yet in these institutions the absurdities of animistic legend, especially in so far as they refer to the Imperial ancestry, are still taught as literal truths.

Accordingly, in one class a boy will be taught that the sun is a big, round ball, of a certain size, diameter, and physical characteristics; in the next hour, going either to a history class or *shushin* (morals) instruction, he learns that the sun is no other than the Divine *Amaterasu no O mi Kami,* the August Heaven Shining Deity, the ancestress of the Heavenly Rulers, who with her must be equally adored.

Let us, forsaking further personal comment, give one or two quotations from the official textbooks of the primary schools (*Jinjo Shogakko Tokuhon*) issued by the Department of Education, the use of which is compulsory in all schools.

The first lesson in the fifth reader (*Maki no Go*) is entitled the "Rocky Door of Heaven," and deals with a famous incident in the Shinto mythology—the hiding of the Sun Goddess. The literal and full translation of the story as told in this lesson is as follows:

"Amaterasu no O mi Kami (The Divine Heaven Shining Deity—the Goddess of the Sun, and the chief Shinto Deity) had a very violent-tempered younger brother called Susanowo no O Mikoto (August Impetuous Male Deity). One time, flaying a piebald horse, he went to the place where the August Deity (the Sun Goddess) was weaving, and flung it in. The August Deity, greatly surprised, shut the doors of the Rocky Gate of Heaven (a cave), and there hid herself. Alas and alackaday! the world which until now was light became pitch dark, and the Evil Deities began doing many wicked deeds.

"The virtuous deities desiring in some way or other to cause the August Deity to come out, after much consultation assembled together outside the Rocky Gate, and began performing a Sacred Dance. At that time the dance of the female deity called Amenozume no Mikoto (August Heaven Startling Deity) was particularly amusing. All the Gods clapped their hands and laughed mightily.

"Hearing this seemingly exceedingly interesting thing, the August (Sun) Goddess opened the gate a trifle and peeped out. The deity called Tajikarawo no Mikoto (August Strong Arm Male Deity) seeing this, immediately seized the August Deity's hands and pulled her out. Whereupon the whole world was illuminated again, as of yore."

So much for the official Japanese astronomy, as taught not as a parable, nor as an interesting legend, but as a sober scientific fact.

Let us now hear what the Government has to say about her shrine at Ise, which is the Mecca of Shintoism. Taking up No. 8 of the Government readers we find in the first lesson all the information required, which being translated runs as follows:

"Generations of Heavenly Rulers (*i.e.*, of course, Japanese Emperors) having determined that the Imperial Shrine (to Amaterasu no O mi Kami) be the object of great veneration, the subjects must also deeply do reverence thereto, and no one can be really contented at heart unless he has made a pilgrimage at least once in a lifetime.

"All boys should know this much about the Imperial shrine. In ancient days, in the days of the Gods, the Imperial Ancestress, Amaterasu no Omi Kami, when sending down Ninigi (her grandson) to govern this land (Japan), bestowed upon him the Yatano kagami (Sacred Mirror), saying, 'When you look into this mirror regard it as if you were seeing me.'

"In accordance with this divine order, subsequent generations of Heavenly Rulers placed it within a shrine. Afterwards, a sanctuary having been built upon the banks of the Isuzu river, this mirror was regarded as the Divine Essence itself, and festivals in honour of the Sun Goddess have been performed.

"From of old the sanctuary has been constructed of white wood, and in accordance with the august decree it has been entirely rebuilt every twenty years. Being such a venerable shrine, each year, on its important yearly festival, an Imperial courier comes direct from the Presence, and in case of any important event in the Imperial Family or in the State it is without fail announced here. In 1904-05, at the end of the (Russian) War, H.I.M. the Emperor made a pilgrimage to announce the signing of peace, but this ceremony is one of very long standing."

We might give many more examples, from all three epochs—the modern, the medieval, and the ancient—in which history has been tampered with, or rather let us say popular tradition left untouched. We have, however, already overlapped our space, though it might be interesting to note that in the last few years

two well-known Professors of the Imperial University have lost their posts after having published books along the line of higher criticism of historical documents.

3. The Inculcation of Militarism

We have now to add a word on the third aspect, the inculcation of militarism in the schools.

That this is done no intelligent Japanese would deny; most of them would be proud of the fact. For the Japanese, though giving up the customs of the Samurai, the warrior-knights, have always prided themselves on having retained their spirit. *Bushido,* Chivalry, or the Way of the Warrior, is more than ever a compelling force in the Japan of to-day, and no one can deny that much good is done thereby. Manly courage, virility, endurance, willingness and even eagerness to lay down one's life for the sake of the Empire, all these are excellent things, and if this training has made them chauvinistic it has at least made them public-spirited, thinking of duties as well as rights.

For one thing the games and sports tend in this direction. Though baseball and, to a certain extent, tennis and football have caught hold of the popular imagination (cricket is entirely out of the running), yet the national pastimes continue to be *Kendo,* or fencing (Japanese fencing, by the way, is quite different from that of the Occident), and *Judo,* or, as it is usually and incorrectly called, Jiujitsu, or wrestling. Both of these

are inherited from Samurai times, and both, in addition to physical development, are supposed to tend to keep alive the old Samurai spirit. In this they are no doubt successful. Incidentally, a boy is compelled to take up one or the other in all of the schools, save primary institutions, where less strenuous exercises are given.

Again, the fact that the students of all the schools wear uniforms tends to increase the group spirit along military lines, for though the primary school boys wear Japanese clothes with only a Western military cap, the students of the higher schools invariably wear a foreign (*i.e.*, European, especially German) uniform similar to the uniform worn in the Army. This effect is even more heightened in the colonies, such as Formosa, where the teachers, in addition to wearing this Government uniform, wear a short sword, in common with all the other Government officials, and, on occasions of State, a long sword and epaulet.

Furthermore, military instruction, in the hands of a regular army officer attached especially to each school, plays an important part in the curriculum. At least once a week each boy receives a thorough drilling in military tactics. In the secondary and higher schools rifle practice is also taught, so that the average middle school boy would make, without further training, a most excellent soldier.

Even more important than all these is the spirit which is inculcated, and military hero-worship, which naturally leads to a desire to follow in the same path, is very successfully taught in four ways. One is in the

literature classes, where, in studying the language readers, stories of military prowess are read and expounded. Second, in the history class, where the same thing occurs with even more detail and gusto, and the Japanese youngster is reminded that Japan has never been beaten in any war and that no foreign invader has ever secured a foothold on her soil, that Japan's "place in the sun" is gradually expanding, and that sooner or later, to use the words of the textbooks, "Japan must be made the mightiest nation in the world."

Not content with these two means of nationalistic instruction, we find the same thing taught even more emphatically in the class which may be said to be especially held for it—*shushin,* or morals, as it is usually translated. In some ways a better rendering would be "citizenship," since it is not so much the general theory of right and wrong that is dealt with as the social relations of each man, considered from the national point of view—*e.g.*, the relationship between parents and children, between brothers, friends, etc., and especially between each man or each family and the State.

It is here that Emperor-worship and militarism are most instilled. The eternal glories of the Japanese Empire are thoroughly taught, together with the desire to preserve it from wrong or hurt from outside, as well as to increase its influence and add to its fame. Here it is that a boy's fertile and fanciful brain is caught with stories of bravery and courageous adventure, of

victory snatched from seeming defeat, of the uncomplaining death of men who took their lives rather than surrender, of men who threw themselves away in front of parapets in order that the flag of the Rising Sun might for ever float thereon.

As a result of all this is it any wonder that the younger generation is thrilled by the thought of the military might of the Phœnix Empire?

To fix this feeling, to crystallize it into something more concrete, we find religion brought in to play a part; for, though Shinto is supposed to be no more than a mere code of loyalty, the regulations of all schools prescribe that all students must periodically make a pilgrimage to the local shrine, which is usually dedicated either to some local or to some national hero, often of a military nature, as well as of occasionally to journey to some more prominent *yashiro* afar off where reside the shades of one who, having fought of old for the Imperial Dynasty, is for ever worthy of respect and veneration.

CHAPTER X

EFFICIENT BUREAUCRACY

1. The Establishment of the Bureaucracy. 2. Its Organization. 3. The *Modus Operandi.*

BUT enough, and more than enough, of what we have chosen to call the first great feature of modern Japan, "Militaristic Nationalism." We are next called upon to consider the second feature—viz., "Efficient Bureaucracy," which is in some ways the keystone of the whole present-day civilization of Japan.

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The fact of its existence we have already had occasion to notice—for who in writing anything of value on Japan could afford to omit mention of it? Hitherto, however, we have regarded it in relationship to other things, and we are now come to consider it in its relationship to itself alone.

In the first place, the nature of the Bureaucracy must not be misunderstood, as it is only too frequently in the West. In America the Civil Service, save for Cabinet positions, and those immediately below them, is rather looked down upon. It affords easy sinecures,

comfortably but none too amply paid, requiring little else than routine clerical work. Consequently to find a man of any great ability or of very great worth—the big brains of the country—in Government employ is of rare occurrence.

In most Latin countries of Europe the same thing may be said to hold true, though the greater liking of its people both for Government and for routine work has meant that some of the best talent of the country has been absorbed in red-tape, in filling in forms, in conducting long and fruitless correspondence. This, of course, has had disastrous consequences to the commerce and industry of the countries concerned.

Even in England, in the domestic Civil Service, the case cannot be said to be very different. Here, of course, the Second Division clerks, the mere rank and file, are as the rank and file everywhere. The First Division, composed chiefly of Oxford or Cambridge graduates, contains some of the very best brains in the country, but the inherent dislike of the English people for Government control, coupled with the inefficiency as a whole of the organization of the English bureaucracy, has caused it to be relegated to a comparatively unimportant place in the national scheme of things.

It is only when we examine the Civil Service in the Crown Colonies (not the Dominions) or in India, or, even better, the bureaucracy of Germany, that we find a parallel to the state of affairs in Japan, where the warp and the woof of the industrial, the commercial,

the political, and the social life of the State is centred around a comparatively small body of Government officials, but a body composed of the absolute pick of the total population.

As far as Japan is concerned the reason for the present system is not difficult to discern. In addition to the fact that temperamentally the Japanese are exactly fitted for such an organization, the actual state of affairs existing at the time of the Restoration in 1868 forced them to follow along this line.

At a time when science and industry were at their lowest point the country was threatened with an economic invasion of peoples equipped with the latest machinery and systems of wholesale production, with factories and foundries, research laboratories, and, above all, the capital and energy sufficient to allow them under ordinary circumstances to sweep everything before them. The small group of persons who had managed to assume the reins of power were confronted with a difficult problem. Were they to have waited for individual initiative to show itself, for the commercial and industrial classes spontaneously to change their whole ideas and methods, it would probably have been too late—the foreign merchant would have permanently usurped the national trade and with it the financial independence of the country. Once this had gone, as Egypt and India could have told them, political independence is not long in vanishing.

They did not hesitate. They decided that it was upon their shoulders to reorganize the State from top

to bottom. They it was who organized and re-organized the banking system, who opened model factories, who taught the people through them how to make matches, cement, cloth, silk, soap, steel, engines, and all the inconceivably many things which go to make up the framework of the modern industrial State. Not only did they destroy the old commercial system, and pass laws for the formation of limited liability companies and joint-stock enterprises, but by threats and by promises, by grants and by subsidies, saw that they were successfully carried on.

Japan needed ships. She could not afford to wait for her merchants to gradually take an interest in maritime affairs. Foreign ships were already establishing routes of sailing, and in a short time would have secured a monopoly. Accordingly the Government forced the formation of three companies—the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, and the Osaka Shosen Kaisha—poured money into them, saw that they were efficiently run, saw that a school was formed for the adequate training of maritime officers, passed laws giving them a monopoly of the coastal trade, saw that all the State-controlled industries sent their goods by these boats, saw also that the organization of these companies was such that trained and able men, and these only, had charge, and pushed their way to the top. Consequently the merchant navy of Japan is to-day one of the largest in the whole world.

Invariably, in Japan, the people have been behind, invariably the Bureaucracy has dragged them along,

driven them forward, bullied them along into efficiency, organization, and success.

But this result has required three conditions :

(1) That the Bureaucracy have absolute political control, and that they should be unhampered in their actions by the wishes of the mob.

(2) That they have a free hand in the economic and industrial world, and be in a word their foundation, rather than merely an outside factor regulating and controlling.

(3) In order that the mob stomach the first and the commercial element the second, it has been necessary that this Bureaucracy be eminently successful ; that it be so efficient as to achieve what would otherwise not be achieved ; that trade grow and flourish, and general happiness and prosperity be assured.

With regard to the first and second points we need not, for the moment, concern ourselves. We have seen how the oligarchy secured and retained control of the State, and since they started when the industrial world, in the modern sense of the word, was non-existent, organizing it for themselves, it is easy to realize how they attained success in the second point. Accordingly it is with the third point that we find ourselves interested, and it would behove us to examine more closely into it.

Now in attempting to insure the efficiency of any Bureaucracy it is necessary, among other things, that the would-be official be properly trained and prepared for his post ; that care be taken to secure the best type

of man ; that there should be some means whereby the best man may steadily rise and come to the top ; that each official be given the post for which he is best fitted, or, in other words, the round peg be put into the round hole ; that he have sufficient power, and be sufficiently unhampered by red-tape and routine, to carry out his work efficiently ; and that the various departments be effectively and systematically organized.

2. The Organization of the Bureaucracy

Let us see what Japan has done along this line.

First of all, she has been careful to secure a close co-ordination between education and the Bureaucracy. Japan has one of the longest and most complete systems of education in the world. A boy who goes through the university course must start when seven years of age and go through first the six years of the primary school. He will then, unless passing certain examinations, attend the higher primary school for another two years before going through the five-year course of the middle school. This, however, only carries him through the secondary education. His higher education must now be seen to, and accordingly he next goes to the higher school for three years and then finishes up at the university for another three or four years, after which he may take up post-graduate work ; so that, even provided our student went straight through the whole course without a hitch, he would have been studying for nineteen or twenty years, and

have reached the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven before even graduating.*

Now the primary, the higher primary, and the middle schools give in the majority of cases little more than a general education without any particular emphasis or specialization on one subject. The future doctor or merchant or lawyer will all learn something of science, of history and geography, of mathematics, of his own language and literature (including Classical Chinese), as well as English. It is in the higher school that he begins to specialize. Here he must either take up the scientific, or the literary, or the legal section, and on entering the university he must choose between entering one of the six principal colleges—namely :

(1) College of Literature, including philosophy.
(2) College of Law, including sociology and economics.
(3) College of Science, including all the sciences.
(4) College of Engineering, including all branches of technology.
(5) College of Medicine, including surgery and veterinary and dental work.
(6) College of Agriculture, including forestry.

Degrees in Commerce are given by the higher commercial school, which, though a commercial college, is not part of the Imperial university, while pedagogics is taught in the higher normal school.

* The Japanese educational system is at present undergoing a good deal of reorganization, but the essential features are not materially affected.

What, however, is of more importance to us at the present time is not the system of education, but the relationship between the system of education and the training of officials in the Bureaucracy.

Briefly, it is this. In Japan all Government officials —including school teachers, police officials, etc.—are divided into four ranks—namely :

(*a*) Hannin Officials.
(*b*) Sōnin Officials.
(*c*) Chokunin Officials.
(*d*) Shinnin Officials.

Hannin are the lowest, and Shinnin the highest. In Formosa, where all officials are forced to don uniforms upon the arm of which there are one or more crests, or "buttons," according to rank, Hannin officials are known popularly as "One-Button" officials, Sōnin men as "Two-Button," Chokunin men as "Three-Button," and Shinnin men as "Four-Button" officials. To gain any comprehension of the organization of the Japanese Bureaucracy it is most essential to grasp the full significance of this gradation of rank.

Shinnin, or Four-Button officials, are the Cabinet ministers, ambassadors, governors of important colonies, and the other leading officials of the Empire.

Chokunin, or Three-Button officials, are the heads and sub-heads of departments, directors of bureaux or offices, charged with the supervision of the execution of most routine work.

Sōnin, or Two-Button officials, correspond to the

First Division clerks of England, and are the officers of the army of the Civil Service.

Hannin, or One-Button officials, correspond to the Second Division of the Civil Service in England, and are the rank and file with no particular responsibility or position.

Still lower in the scale come, of course, the employees, or *yatoinin* — janitors, gate-keepers, messengers, etc., who can hardly be said to come within the folds of officialdom.

The important point to be noted in this connection is that these four ranks are not so arranged that one can pass from one into the other by a gradual scale of promotion. Rather do they correspond to the distinction between commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Army, with the wide gulf of separation that exists between them.

Since education is strictly compulsory in Japan, such men as the *yatoinin* or employees will be chosen from the ranks of the primary school graduates who are without other educational qualifications. It is practically impossible for one of them to rise beyond this position.

One-Button officials are usually selected from amongst the graduates of middle schools, or occasionally higher schools, without further qualifications, though frequently, in addition, a special Civil Service examination is required. Once entered as a One-Button official, it is extremely difficult to rise to the rank of a *Sōnin kwan,* or Two-Button official, though

on especial aptitude being shown such an event is not impossible. The usual course, however, is to rise through the various subdivisions of the Hannin rank (there are eight in all), beginning with grade eight and ending up with the highest, grade one.

Graduates of a university, or rather, let us say, of one of the four Imperial universities, who go in for Government service, usually spend a short time, some four or five years, as One-Button officials and are then promoted to Two-Button or Sōnin rank. Here again they rise through the various subdivisions of the rank, and though they may, by showing marked ability, succeed in becoming Three-Button men, the usual course for them is to remain within the Sōnin order.

Three-Buttondom is generally reserved for men who, having gone through their university work with distinction, have either taken post-graduate work or gone abroad to study. In such a case, after serving for a short time as One-Button, a somewhat longer time as Two-Button officials, they are eventually appointed to some important post with the rank of Chokunin.

Shinnin, or Four-Button officials, are, of course, on a somewhat different level, and are generally appointed from the most powerful and distinguished members of the Bureaucracy.

This scheme of things has, on the whole, worked well. Education in Japan being cheap, and the difficulty of passing the examinations being the chief thing to be feared (from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent.

of all candidates of most Government schools being rejected), it follows that people of all classes may aspire to the highest posts, and though Japan is not at all democratic in the sense of possessing popular control, it is at least fair to say that it is democratic in the sense of offering equal opportunity. In many cases some of the finest administrators have come from the middle or lower middle classes.

It is good also in that it provides for the thorough training of the officials, and enables the best trained (who is usually, but by no means always, the most able) man to rise to the highest positions. It has further the advantage of attracting into the Bureaucracy the best type of men, inasmuch as the less fit men are gradually weeded out. Accordingly it may be said that the first three requirements in the list which we have outlined above have been fulfilled.

Incidentally it may be interesting, before passing on to further considerations, to note the relatively high rank which is assigned to teachers. In the primary school practically all teachers are Hannin or One-Button officials, only the Principal being perhaps of Two-Button rank. In the middle school One-Button men again preponderate, though one finds a fair sprinkling of Sōnin or Two-Button teachers, the Principal and head-teacher (two separate posts) almost invariably having this rank, and often the heads of important departments are the same.

In the higher schools most of the men are Sōnin officials, with perhaps an occasional Three-Button

instructor, while in the university lecturers and assistant Professors will generally be Two-Button men, and most of the full Professors of Chokunin rank. It will be seen that in this scale university men rank very high, and in many ways in this respect England could not do better than to copy Japan's example.

3. THE "MODUS OPERANDI"

In addition, even in the method employed in the training of officials, a very strong contrast exists between Japan and England. In England men of the Oxford or Cambridge type, from whom almost all diplomats, administrators, politicians, and statesmen are chosen, are trained in order that they may be everything in general and nothing in particular. It is only after graduation that such a man will begin to specialize, for as regards university work, Civil Servants of all departments, barristers, teachers, clergymen, journalists, and all the multitudinous varieties of professional men undergo the same training with no marked emphasis upon the peculiar aim of each. An Oxford M.A. is made Director of Textile Industry at the War Office, having had previously only a hazy idea of the difference between cotton and wool. A Cambridge man is sent to check estimates on the purchase of bully-beef and judge of its probable fitness for the consumption of the Army. In justice to such men, one must admit that the majority perform their tasks surprisingly well.

In Japan specialized training is considered to be the only possible thing. Even within the limits of the Bureaucracy itself a man receives a totally different education according to the branch which he decides to take up. In almost no case is literature or the classics the entrance to official life, other than with those persons whose work will be chiefly literary or educational. Accordingly the College of Literature in the Imperial universities is much neglected.

For the majority of officials, in fact for all save those qualifying along some particular line as experts, Administrative Law is the most important item in their education. This in Japan includes a very complete and systematic course of instruction in history and geography, ethnological peculiarities, sociology, comparative jurisprudence, methods of administration, study of constitutions and governments, and, above all, instruction in the conduct of departmental work. It goes without saying that in most respects the fully fledged Bureaucrat is a very capable individual.

It must be remembered, however, that a great many types of men are in Government service in Japan who would be in private enterprise elsewhere. Thus, for example, the great Government hospitals require a large staff of medical and surgical experts, the national research laboratories need the best minds in physics, chemistry, biology, and, to a certain extent, psychology and anthropology. Most of the public works being built by the Government itself, engineers of all sorts form an important branch of the service;

the supply of teachers for all kinds of schools necessitates a large coterie of instructors on the most diverse subjects.

It may be said that there is hardly a single question under the sun where the Government could not drag out from its members some expert who could easily cope with it. All such men are trained in their own speciality. Government medical and sanitary experts are trained in the Medical College of the Imperial University and then sent abroad to study; in the old days principally to Germany, where also went the graduates of the College of Science, preparing for eminent research posts.

Take again the question of the organization of departments, and contrast the extraordinary confusion in England with the cut-and-dried system in vogue in Japan. In England some departments are ruled by a single minister, others by a board. The internal administration of one department is of little or no avail in comprehending that of another. We have a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a First Lord of the Admiralty, with several other Lords, a President of the Board of Education, a Minister of Munitions, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as far as internal organization is concerned most of the officials themselves know little more than what concerns their own section. For many years the Cabinet and the Prime Ministrate were legally non-existent institutions, and the younger son of a peer had precedence over the Chief Minister of State.

In Japan everything goes by an extremely formal and non-plastic pattern. The duties and privileges of the Prime Minister, of each minister, of the Cabinet as a whole, all are duly laid down in writing, and in place of the innumerable ministers in England, most of them unfamiliar to the general public, we find the whole seat of authority in the hands of the various executive departments.

In each department of State we find a minister and one or more vice-ministers. Each such department is systematically subdivided into bureaux, each bureau being again divided into offices (*kyoku*), and so on, so that a momentary glance at a chart of the administrative system shows immediately just where and how any function of the State is performed, and consequently its success or failure can be easily judged.

Another reason for the success of the Japanese Bureaucracy has been, perhaps, the emphasis laid upon the doctrine of responsibility. An official in Japan is held responsible not only for his own actions, but also for those of all of his subordinates in a very strict manner, and must accordingly be constantly on his guard. A warship was blown up through the negligence of some unknown member of the crew while the captain was away on leave on shore. Nevertheless he thought it necessary for him to commit suicide, which from the Japanese point of view was, under these circumstances, the only possible or commendable thing to do. Some savages in Formosa managed to set fire to certain camphor forests, and the Director

of the Formosan Forestry Bureau was forced to resign, though he was in no way personally responsible. In many cases this idea has some very curious results. An elder brother is responsible for the debts of a younger brother ; the principal of a school is responsible for the morals both of his staff and of his pupils, and consequently must keep strict supervision over them.

Whatever may be said for or against this idea, at least, in most cases, it has brought about much good. Any accident, any negligence, any muddle must be rectified or someone must pay for it, so that the lassitude, the *laissez-faire* attitude, so common among Civil Servants is consequently, to a great extent, held in check. A man may at any moment be thrown upon the world a pariah and a pauper. He may at any moment be called upon to resign not merely his position, his emoluments, and his honours, but also his life, for certain negligence or misdeeds can only be remedied by self-disembowelment. His caution and exactitude in the conduct of his business grow accordingly.

On the other hand, if the onus and the responsibilities of officialdom are severe, for the successful Bureaucrat there lies in store fame, fortune, orders, pensions, and elevation to the peerage. As regards this last point, in Japan a peerage is not so much a starting-point for securing important positions in the State, as it so often is in Europe, but rather the final goal of successful administrators. An important Cabinet Minister will be made a baron or a viscount.

A Prime Minister will probably become either a count or a marquis, while such an exceptional man as Ito was made a prince, for Japan has refurbished the old five Chinese ranks of nobility and made them correspond to the ranks of the European peerage. Like the titles of England, they are hereditary, descending to the eldest son only (though in default of real heirs an adopted son may inherit the titles), but, unlike the haughty aristocracy of England or the autocratic nobility of Germany, the Japanese nobility is singularly democratic and unassuming. A man may be dictatorial and autocratic, proud or presumptuous because of his rank in the Bureaucracy, but seldom because of his rank in the peerage. The Japanese have religious veneration for the Imperial Family, feelings of awe and fear for the officials, but only vague respect for the nobility, and that not because of their excessive number, since there are very few more Japanese peers than English.

In between the five ranks of the *Kwazoku* or nobles and the *Heimin* or commoners, there lie the *Shizoku,* a special rank consisting of all the old descendants of the Samurai, or warrior knights. In this case, as on the European continent, the rank descends to all male members of the family, so that there must be almost, if not more than, a million in all. They have neither title nor privileges, however, and are indistinguishable from the ordinary portion of the population. Even peers are frequently called only "san" or Mr. colloquially, though, unlike the Shizoku, who have no

political rights other than those enjoyed by ordinary Japanese subjects, the *Kwazoku* elect one-fifth of their number to be members of the Upper House of the Imperial Diet.

Furthermore, Japan, like Europe, has her honours or orders, the principal being :

(*a*) The Order of the Chrysanthemum, corresponding in a general way to the English Order of the Garter.

(*b*) The Order of the Rising Sun, an honour also much prized, though chiefly given to military men.

(*c*) The Order of the Golden Kite (or Falcon). This is also military, and corresponds roughly to the English Victoria Cross, though somewhat more lavishly given.

(*d*) The Order of the Sacred Treasure, given largely to civil officials for services to the State, corresponding to the Order of the Bath or the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

(*e*) The Order of the Paulownia, granted chiefly to women.

Each of these orders has several ranks, corresponding to the English Companion, Knight, Knight Commander, and Grand Cross, though their grades are more numerous and are simply called First Class, Second Class, etc. In most cases the upper ranks carry with them a small pension.

In addition, Japan has what is not met with elsewhere, gradations in *I* (pronounced *Ee*), which may be called Court rank. Practically all officials of Two Buttons or over, as well as many prominent merchants, learned men, and so forth, even though not in the Bureaucracy, have some grade of the Court rank, *Honichi-i,* or Senior First Rank, coming first, then *Junichi-i,* or Junior First Rank, *Honni-i,* Senior Second Rank, *Junni-i,* Junior Second Rank, etc.

Pensions for superannuated officials are fairly adequate. After fifteen years' service a man retires on one-fourth of his salary, with slight increases for every additional year of office, and since he can furthermore claim support from his children his position in old age is not altogether unenviable.

CHAPTER XI

IMPERIAL SOCIALISM

1. The Government and Industry. 2. The Centralization of Industry. 3. Methods of Bureaucratic Control.

1. THE GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

WHAT we have decided to term Imperial Socialism is nothing else than the result of the Bureaucratic control exercised over the national commerce and industry : it is the centralization of all economic activity and its relative close relationship to the State and the ruling oligarchy. In a word it is nothing more than an extension of the old German system, which was so frequently called by this name, owing to the extraordinary importance State activities had in the national economic life.

The question of commerce and industry does not, for the present, concern us, but it is important in order to gain a due perspective that we give a hasty glance at the problem from the point of view of the national and political organization.

If Imperial Socialism means co-ordinated unification of industry more or less under the supervision of the Government, we may begin by saying that control is

exercised in two different ways, and with consequently two different results. The first of these is by methods of legislative regulation, and is to be seen in the elaborate codes which have been formulated to regulate in detail the exact conduct of all industries and trades, compared with which all English and American laws are as nothing.

The farmer with his agricultural code is told exactly what he may and may not do—how his fields must be cultivated, what conditions are prohibited, and along what lines he is encouraged to go. The Government runs experimental stations and informs him as to the best lines to be pursued. Most of this advice he is more or less compelled to carry out. The trader and the manufacturer are, along their respective lines, the same, so that the Government stands as the great umpire insisting upon mutual application of those principles which are supposed to stand for efficiency and success.

Government action by no means stops here, for we find that the second method adopted is by actively engaging in the organization of each particular industry, forming companies under its own auspices, stimulating the manufacture of this and of that product, arranging and insisting upon mutual co-operation among the principal industries on all important points, and, in fact, acting generally as manager of the drama of economic life.

There are many industries, of course, though chiefly of a small and unimportant nature, or for some

particular reason on a line neglected by the Government, which have come into being independently. Out of these a certain proportion have managed to withstand the blight of official aloofness, but on the whole such industries do not play an important part in the national life.

In most cases all important concerns started as absolute Government monopolies, generally as State experimental factories, and were only gradually and under certain conditions handed over to private enterprise. Thus, in the early days, we find Government factories were started for the manufacture of cement, of paper, of steel, of matches, of printing type, of textiles, of silk, and the preparation of such things as salt, sugar, tobacco, and camphor. The Bureaucracy inaugurated iron foundries, and machine shops, docks, and printing plants, shipbuilding plants, railroad stock manufactories, and all the thousand and one other features of industrial life.

In each and every case of this type the factories were kept in Governmental hands until the experimental stage was over, and until it was shown not only that it was a practicable idea, but also that the best means had been devised for their most convenient, economic, and efficient production, and only then, one by one, suitable companies were organized under Government auspices for the acquirement of the industry concerned.

2. The Centralization of Industry

As things are at present, we may divide all the important industries into three classes—viz.: (*a*) Government monopolies, (*b*) semi-monopolies, (*c*) autonomous concerns under the general supervision of the Government.

Under the first head would come those affairs which are vested solely in the Government and in which private enterprise has no part whatsoever. Such are the railroads, the manufacture and sale of tobacco, salt, camphor, and in Formosa of opium. These are still run for the purpose of securing revenue, and on the whole have proved successful, though the charge of Government profiteering is not altogether unjustified.

Under the second category come those firms which, while not mere Government departments, yet are subsidized by the Government, and given general protection and encouragement in return for submission to the broad outlines of its policy. On smaller and less important points they are of course left free to choose for themselves, and it is rather spontaneous co-ordination with the Government than in the nature of a formal bond compelling them to carry out certain orders or decrees. Of this nature are the above-mentioned three great shipping companies, the N.Y.K., the T.K.K., and the O.S.K., as they are generally known among foreigners, which own the vast majority of Japanese boats. The Mitsubishi dockyards, and

one or two other large shipbuilding companies are in the same class, as is also the great Mitsui concern, which has almost secured a monopoly of the major portion of the wholesale import and export trade, and is by far the largest and most powerful of Japanese firms, having branches and agencies everywhere. Many of the mining companies, the iron foundries, and certain of the textile (*i.e.*, spinning) companies have a similar relationship, though so gradually does the second category shade off into the third that it is difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation between them. In most of the companies of the former class, however, the Government or the Imperial Household Department holds a large number of shares, and in return they receive money grants from the State, or its equivalent. All are forced to keep from cut-throat competition, to comply with general and uniform directions, and to place their facilities at the disposal of the Government in case of war.

All the remaining concerns come, of course, under the third class, and consist either of firms started purely by private enterprise or, more usually, of companies formed under the auspices of the Government for the purchase of model factories, as we have mentioned previously, though in many cases corporations have been established under Government stimulation without this preliminary step. A group of people are forced to be interested in a certain line—hats, let us say. Arrangements are made for the formation of a company. Government-inspired banks promise the

necessary capital. An expert or a body of experts is sent abroad to study the hat-manufacturing industry; machinery is bought; a plant installed, and in a few years the company is flooding Japan and bit by bit the rest of Asia with cheap hats.

Naturally in many cases the bonds between the individual firm and the Government tend to become very lax. In the majority of cases it is not in the power of the Bureaucracy to issue any peremptory order which must be obeyed. There are, however, two factors which counteract any such laxity; which make it easier for the various firms to keep abreast of one another by keeping in touch with the Government. One of these is the question of scientific research, and the other is the peculiar organization of the banking system.

Regarding the first we may say that from many points of view in matters concerning the national recognition of and provision for scientific and industrial research Japan leads the world. On general problems, on matters of theoretical advance in knowledge, they have yet to gain their spurs, and the probability is that the Japanese will never excel in this direction. It is rather in the application of general knowledge to specific instances, of scientific problems to the advancement of industry, in the analysis of soils in order to know what fertilizers to use and what corps to grow, in research as to how the river systems of Japan may be used for hydro-electric power, how chemicals found in large quantities can be utilized

commercially, that her success has been so marked and is in many ways unique.

In addition to the central research laboratory, which is more or less in touch with all such phases of scientific advance, we find special institutions for carrying on research on agriculture, on forestry, on chemistry and the chemical industry, on physics, on bacteriology; special bureaux for analysis, for synthesis, and for improvement of manufacturing processes. The information thus acquired is purveyed to each particular firm for its own use and benefit, so that the Bureaucracy continues to be regarded as the fount of initiative and inspiration.

3. Methods of Bureaucratic Control

The banking system is also so arranged as to foster the same result. Apart from a large number of banks of a general nature less directly controlled by the Government, we find a special series of banks performing certain specific functions which are as much Government institutions as the Bank of England or the Bank of France, and which have secured in a large measure the economic control of the country.

First, of course, comes the Bank of Japan, which is the keystone of the whole banking world, and upon which even the nominally private banks depend. Next comes the Yokohama Specie Bank, which has almost a monopoly of the foreign exchange. Then come the Hypothec Bank, with its innumerable branches and

agencies, which is the backbone of agricultural economics ; and the Bank of Commerce and Industry, which performs a similar function for the manufacturers and merchants.

Almost all firms working on a large scale sooner or later are forced to come to one or another of these banks for money, and money is only advanced on the fulfilment of certain conditions, and upon conditions which are sometimes extremely severe. With this whip-hand over it no company, however restive, can get entirely out of hand.

All these points, however, are somewhat beyond the scope of the present chapter, and we must perforce leave them here without inquiring farther into details ; but before closing it is essential to note one last important fact—namely, the gradation in industrial circles, and their relation to the system of education, corresponding very closely to that between education and the Bureaucracy. Just as we have seen that secondary school men become One-Button officials, 'varsity men Two-Button officials, etc., so in industry the vast majority of men with only primary school education become members of the labouring classes—either skilled or unskilled workmen—and are usually prohibited from rising higher.

Graduates of a secondary commercial or industrial school (and technical schools play a very important part in Japanese education) become clerks, supervisors, occasionally assistant managers, and find it almost impossible to rise farther, while the plums of the service

are reserved for the graduate of the higher commercial school or the technical college. This has meant that it is unusual in the larger industries for a man to begin at the bottom and gradually rise up. He finds his sphere according to his education, and though the poor man with special training may rise to any height, without it he has little or no chance to be more than a cog in the machine. This has many disadvantages, of course, but at least it has meant that managers are usually men of a very high education and general training, acquainted with the theory as well as the practice of industry or trade, and with consequent greater grasp of any situation which may arise.

PART IV

THE MILITARY DEVELOPMENT

The Chinese artists found ready pupils in the Japanese, and it was not long before art escaped the bonds of religion and became a study and end in itself. It passed through various stages. From the sixth to the ninth century Chinese influence was supreme, the pupils not daring to go beyond the ideas of their masters. From the ninth to the fifteenth century a native Japanese school of art arose and eclipsed that which merely followed along conventional lines. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century there was a reaction, and China once more became the teacher.

From the seventeenth to the eighteenth century a popular school came into being which aimed at portraying the intimate side of society and the everyday life of the people. During the latter part of the Tokugawa régime we find a naturalistic school acquiring some prominence. This found its inspiration in landscapes.

The Restoration caused an upheaval of the earlier standards. Up to this time water colours had been the only medium and oil paintings unknown. Though the Geisha were frequently models, yet the nude was never drawn. After 1868 Western art swept the country for some time and the native artists were carried off their feet. At last a reaction set in and the older threads were taken up, though the tidal waves of French and Italian art have had a permanent influence for good on the nation, resulting in better technique, a surer touch, and the idea of perspective.

At present a yearly exhibition (*Bunten*) is held under

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF THE ARMY AND NAVY

1. Military Expansion. 2. Naval Expansion.

1. MILITARY EXPANSION

THE history of the Japanese Army and Navy is one of extraordinary development and efficiency. In the ancient days, prior to the introduction of Chinese influence (in the sixth century A.D.), when the organization of the nation was tribal, all men were soldiers in addition to their other tasks, though some, such as the hereditary bodyguard of the Emperor, were especially devoted to the profession of arms.

After the assimilation of the Chinese system, when culture and specialization set in, we find an early attempt at conscription, but before long a class of warriors arose who arrogated to themselves exclusive privileges, just as in the Middle Ages in Europe the knights were supposed to be the only true soldiers, though there the gentry never acquired quite the same monopoly that the Samurai possessed in Japan. These Samurai, or warrior knights, were not members of a national army, but were in the service of the various feudal lords or Daimyo. This system lasted down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the advent

of foreign intercourse caused the complete reorganization of the State.

Even before the Restoration, but after the Perry expedition, we find some attempt made to introduce European military instruction. The Lord of Satsuma employed English experts, the Lord of Kii Germans, while still others looked to the Dutch for guidance. Even the conservative Shogunate at Tokyo decided in 1862 upon the adoption of Occidental methods of warfare, though it retained the services of the Samurai. The Europeanized troops consisted at this period of 8,306 infantry, 1,068 cavalry, 800 field artillery, and 2,045 garrison artillery, which, with 1,406 officers, made a total of 13,625.

This force had not received sufficient training at the time of the conflict between the Shogunal and Imperial armies to be of any noticeable effect. Upon the downfall of the Tokugawas it was disbanded, and several military and naval instructors who were on their way from Europe were recalled by their respective Governments. The Imperialists, however, were not long in discovering the great need of new methods, and soon set about, on even more rigid lines, the formation of a model army, copied from those of the West. Naturally, much opposition was met with from the Samurai, who desired to retain their privileges, but the oligarchy in control of the central Government, heedless of criticism, instituted a military college where men from all classes were given an adequate training.

Omura, the early promoter of the scheme, was

assassinated, but two men who were later to be the greatest of the military oligarchs, Yamagata (afterwards Field-Marshal Prince Yamagata, the leading man in the Genro, and the power behind the throne) and Saigo (afterwards Field-Marshal Marquis Saigo, a relative of the famous Satsuma leader) greatly developed this line of work, firmly suppressed the Samurai pretensions (although, of course, themselves members of this class), and established the Imperial Guards and large and well-trained garrisons in the cities of Tokyo, Sendai, Osaka, Nagoya, and Kumamoto in order to consolidate the Government's hold on the country.

From 1871 the military expansion and growth in efficiency was phenomenal. In that year the Navy was separated from the War Office, and made into a special department. The last vestiges of Samurai privileges were abolished and universal military conscription introduced. At first only a seven-year service was enforced, being divided into active service for three years, first reserve for two years, and second reserve for another two years. Hiroshima was added as a garrison fortress, and with the five given above formed the nucleus of the six military divisions of the Empire.

As a result of these efforts, immediately prior to the Satsuma rebellion the Imperial Army was able to muster 14 infantry regiments, 3 cavalry squadrons, 108 artillery batteries, 10 engineering sections, 6 commissariat sections, and 9 coast artillery companies,

with a total of 31,680 men in times of peace and 46,350 in times of war.

In spite of the scorn heaped upon it by the Samurai, this army, when fighting in 1877 with the knightly hordes martialled by Saigo, more than proved its mettle, modern methods of warfare being vindicated once and for all.

The Government was not slow in developing the model army and making it into an effective military weapon. In 1879 the length of service was increased to ten years (three with the colours, three with the first reserve, and four with the second reserve), while in 1883 a still further prolongation was made, the men being required to serve for three, four, and five years in the respective classes, making a total of twelve years. The General Staff Office and the Army Inspection Department were added to promote discipline and the study of strategy.

By 1894, on the outbreak of war with China, Japan had an army of 240,000 trained men (including first and second reserves), in addition to 6,495 irregulars and 100,000 coolies. These were grouped together into seven divisions (in place of the former six), in each of which were to be found branches of the infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and commissariat, while there was also the garrison artillery, railway corps, and colonial militia.

The success of the Chinese War only served to stimulate military ambition, and instead of decreasing her forces when peace had been declared they were

almost doubled. The colonial militia was formed into a new division, and five others added, making thirteen in all. Up to this time a division had included practically all branches of the service, but shortly afterwards the cavalry, artillery, etc., were made into separate corps and only independently attached to the infantry. The coast defences were greatly augmented, the harbours planted with mines, the garrison artillery enlarged, and the medical and scientific sides thoroughly overhauled.

Great efforts were also made to improve the Ordnance Department, the arsenals being drastically reformed, so that they were capable of producing practically all the ammunition and arms necessary for war without importation from abroad.

It was in this state that Japan entered into war with Russia in 1904, and the splendid success which she gained then more than justified all of her previous measures. As in the former instance, instead of diminishing her Army after the cessation of hostilities as might have been expected, it was increased by almost 100 per cent., and Japan endeavoured to put herself on an equal footing with the first-class Powers of Europe. According to Prince Yamagata, the leading Japanese Genro, the figures for the Army for the various eras were as follows:

	Generals, Etc.	Higher Officers and Officers.	Petty Officers	Men.	Total.
Before C.-J. War ...	36	4,235	8,970	65,241	78,482
Before R.-J. War ...	94	8,480	11,865	132,348	152,787
After R.-J. War ...	125	14,388	24,066	211,396	249,975

Of recent years the Government has been very chary of giving figures and estimates, but the militarism of the people has been only intensified. Efforts are being made so that by 1930 the first line may consist of 740,000, the second line of 780,000, and the third line of 3,850,000 men. The result of the recent war has not modified her preparations, so that should the proposed European disarmament take place Japan will be left as the greatest military Power on the earth.

2. Naval Expansion

The growth of the Navy has been no less phenomenal and has been even more modern. The Tokugawas entirely destroyed any beginnings there were of the old Japanese Navy by their policy of exclusion. Almost immediately after the Perry expedition, however, the Shogunate began to take an active interest in shipbuilding. Two ships were purchased from the Dutch, one was presented by Queen Victoria. Dutch navigation experts were engaged, and various warships either constructed or bought, so that before the fall of the Shogunate the central Government had more than ten such ships, while the Lords of Satsuma and Tosa (two of the four great clans) had each a small fleet of his own.

The Shogunate had probably great maritime plans, for numerous young officers were sent to Holland to study shipbuilding and navigation. French experts were called in to build a dockyard at Yokosuka, and arrangements were being made for engaging the assist-

ance of England when the Imperial party secured the supreme power.

The new Government took over the ships and supplies of the old, but until 1871 it was too busy with reform and reconstruction to be able to devote much energy to the Navy. In that year, the power of the clans having been broken, the Bureaucracy was left free to take up other matters. At this period Japan possessed seventeen warships of all sorts, most of them wooden, though many were equipped with steam. The Navy was at this time separated from the Army and made into a special department.

In the same year the Naval Academy, Magazine (the forerunner of the great arsenals), and Hospital were established, and a code of naval law and court martial formulated. In 1873 the first of the naval stations was created, and at the same time a naval adviser was obtained from England in the person of Commander (later Vice-Admiral Sir) A. L. Douglas. In two years large war vessels were being launched from Japanese naval yards, while still others were obtained from Europe, chiefly from England.

A large naval programme was introduced in 1882, and by 1886 the number of ships was so great and the efficiency of organization had reached such a pitch that in addition to the central naval station at Yokosuka new ones were gradually established at Kure, Sasebo, Maidzuru, and Muroran.

In the meantime much had been done to improve the quality of the service. To the Naval Academy

(established 1872) for the training of officers there was added in 1876 a Naval Engineering School, which three years later was made into a separate institution. The Naval Staff College for the higher training of all branches was founded in 1888.

In 1878 the general control of the operations of the Army and Navy in times of war was vested in a Central Staff Board. In 1886 a special naval section of this was inaugurated, and in 1888 it was separated and elevated to the dignity of an independent office.

As a result of all of these efforts, and by spending £24,000,000, the fleet at the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese War included twenty-eight ships, with a displacement of 57,600 tons, besides twenty-four torpedo boats. Though not large, these were all magnificently equipped and manned by well-trained and disciplined officers and men under the control of experts of the highest order, so that the somewhat larger but woefully inefficient Chinese navy was overwhelmingly defeated, and seventeen of the Chinese vessels taken as booty.

This, however, only served to still further increase naval expansion. Strenuous efforts were made to augment the wealth of the nation in order to carry out an extensive naval programme. This endeavour was so successful that after ten years the Japanese were able to confront the Russians with six battleships of 84,652 tons, eight armoured cruisers of 73,982 tons, and forty-four other cruisers of 111,470 tons, with nineteen destroyers and eighty torpedo boats.

With these they were once more victorious, and

though there was a certain amount of loss it was more than made up for by the capture of several Russian ships. After the war a very extensive naval programme was again laid down, which, with a total of only £35,000,000, from 1905 to 1916 provided for the construction of new ships, for the repairing and refitting of those in existence, including those captured from Russia, and for making good the tonnage removed from the list by obsolescence.

As a result of all this, though taxation increased by leaps and bounds, by 1916 Japan had for her Navy twelve battleships, besides two others (with 30,800 tons and 45,000 horse-power each) under construction, and one other of 32,000 tons and armed with twelve 15-inch guns which was still to be laid down. Of battle cruisers she had eight, of which four were of 27,000 tons and 64,000 horse-power, in addition to nine first-class and thirteen second-class cruisers ; three first-class coast defence boats and thirteen belonging to the second class ; three first-class and five second-class gunboats. There were, further, sixty destroyers, with nine others in course of construction ; twenty-seven torpedo boats and seventeen submarines. Of the battleships about one-half belong to the Dreadnought class.

We see, therefore, what a very formidable opponent Japan would make. In 1904 she was able to defeat Russia, a first-class Power, yet her Army and Navy have doubled since that time. Both branches are extremely efficient and well disciplined, and the men,

for the most part, not only willing but eager to die for their country. The Occidental habit of surrendering as prisoners they regard with contempt—in their sight a man should commit suicide rather than be taken; while the extraordinary simplicity of their diet renders the Japanese Army and Navy one of the most economical in the world.

CHAPTER XIII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS IN WHICH JAPAN HAS ENGAGED

1. The First Period of Military Expansion. 2. The Chino-Japanese War. 3. The Russo-Japanese War. 4. Japan and the Great War.

THE insular position of Japan has rendered her in the past almost immune from invasion, while the extraordinary love of war and the efficiency of her armies have enabled her to be almost uniformly successful in the conflicts in which she has engaged abroad. It is the boast of her people that their forces have always been invincible, and though this statement is not strictly accurate it is sufficiently near the truth to make her record a proud one.

With the earlier conflicts we are not concerned. From the time when the Yamato tribes first welded Japan into a nation until the Restoration her wars were largely internal, the principal periods of conflict with alien countries being the repulse of the Mongols under Kublai Khan in the Middle Ages and an occasional invasion of Korea. Shortly before the closing of Japan to foreign intercourse in the seventeenth century Japanese pirates infested the Chinese coast, and a Chinese and Japanese half-caste named Koxinga

became King of Formosa; but it is only since 1868 that the question of hostilities with foreign Powers has come to play an important part in the national life.

In recent times there have been two distinct periods of military expansion. The first was from 1871, when the new Government succeeded in unifying its control, until 1877, when the military Bureaucrats were finally thrown out of office to make room for the civilians, whose sole aim was internal reform. The second was from 1894, when Ito was induced to make war on China to still the internal discord which prevailed, and this phase has persisted until the present time.

1. The First Period of Military Expansion

The first military period (1871–1887) was more or less abortive. Except for the Formosan expedition there was no open outbreak of hostilities, but the era was marked by diplomatic imbroglios with China and Korea, which resulted for the most part in slight territorial expansion, but more especially served to show that Japan was a factor with which to reckon and that her interests were to be respected.

The causes of conflict were these. In 1872 certain fishing boats belonging to and manned by the inhabitants of the Loochoo Islands were wrecked on the western side of Formosa, which was peopled by head-hunting aborigines. The crews were put to death by them. The Japanese Government demanded reparation from China, both in order to assert herself against

her Celestial neighbour and also that she might have public recognition of her sovereignty over the Loochoos, whose rulership was in doubt. The inhabitants of these islands, a people closely cognate to the Japanese, had long enjoyed a virtual independence, but had at various times rendered a tribute either to China or Japan (more strictly in the latter case to the Satsuma clan), and their national status was consequently difficult to determine. The Japanese Government was desirous of annexing the islands completely, and took advantage of this opportunity to flaunt their dependent position.

To the Japanese demands China replied that, though Formosa was her colony, the aborigines of the interior and western coast were beyond her jurisdiction, and that she could not be held responsible for their actions. To this Japan returned that if China refused to deal with the savages she reserved the right to send a punitive expedition herself. Over this proposal China hesitated for some time, but eventually in 1873 she consented. Just at this time, however, Okubo and Kido returned to Japan and to power, and as they belonged to the peace party further action was temporarily postponed.

In the meantime Korea, taking advantage of the fancied preoccupation of Japan with her internal affairs, sent a message to the Japanese Government refusing to pay tribute any longer or even to continue diplomatic communications. At this Saigo, the famous Satsuma official who was also the leader of the military section

of the Bureaucracy, strongly advised the declaration of war, but again pacific counsels prevailed and the matter was hushed up. As we have seen, Saigo and his confrères thereupon retired from the Government and assumed a distinctly hostile tone to their successful opponents, who were left in power.

So successful was the military propaganda and so widespread the dissatisfaction at what was called the tame and humiliating attitude of the Government that in the next year (1874) the Bureaucracy thought it necessary to consent to the Formosan expedition. Saigo's brother was despatched at the head of a numerous army to inflict such a punishment upon the savages as would permanently put them in awe of the Japanese Government. This object was successfully accomplished, though at the cost of much money and life.

Notwithstanding the fact that China had previously given her consent, she was so concerned over the affair that for some time a Chino-Japanese war seemed imminent; but the non-aggressive tone of the Japanese, aided by the good offices of the British Minister at Peking, succeeded in postponing the inevitable conflict for another twenty years.

In 1875 the Korean problem again presented itself for solution. A Korean fort opened fire on a Japanese warship surveying the coast. This was an insult too great to be borne even by Okubo (Kido had resigned over the Formosan affair)—though what a Japanese warship was doing surveying an alien coast we have

yet to know. A flotilla was despatched to bring the Korean Government to terms, which was easily done, though Japan contented herself with forcing a treaty of amity and commerce upon the intimidated Koreans, opening several ports to foreign trade.

In the same year Japan ceded to Russia her rights in the doubtful sovereignty of the island of Saghalien in return for the acknowledgment of her ownership of the Kurile Islands. This step was very unpopular among the militarists, nor was it balanced by the contemporaneous recognition by the foreign Powers of her right over the Ogasawara Archipelago.

Still another year later (1876) Japan annexed the Loochoo Islands, which she had previously regarded as her dependencies. The native semi-independent king was deposed and pensioned off, though the Loochooans, in spite of their close racial similarity to the Japanese, bitterly resented this move and have ever since remained hostile to Japanese rule. They were not alone in their objections, for China also raised a storm of disapproval. She claimed that the Loochoo Islands were already part of her Empire and that the Japanese annexation was equivalent to an act of war. At this point America intervened, and General Grant suggested a compromise whereby the islands were to be divided between the two Asiatic Powers. At first both parties assented to this proposition, but at the last moment China backed out, hoping no doubt eventually to secure the whole, and Japan was left in sole occupation.

All these measures of aggression, however, were not enough to appease the ruffled feelings of the disgruntled Samurai. In 1877 the powerful Satsuma clan, led by Saigo and Shimadzu, lord of the clan, broke out in open rebellion, hoping to overthrow the Tokyo coterie and assume the reins of power for themselves. The rebel army consisted of 40,000 Samurai, who had been trained to fight in a semi-European fashion and were fully provided with rifles and field guns. The Imperial army consisted of conscripts from all classes, and, though they were superior in numbers to the Satsuma forces, the latter felt confident of their ability to defeat men whom they regarded as social outcasts and lacking in the hereditary military tradition. They were soon undeceived, and though both sides fought well in a number of heavy battles, losing more than a third of their total number, at the end of about nine months the rebels were completely crushed, Saigo committing suicide, and the castle-palace of the Shinadzus being levelled to the ground.

2. The Chino-Japanese War

After 1877 the first period of militarism may be said to have ended, the enemies of the civil Bureaucracy being eliminated to such an extent that it was unnecessary to pander to their tastes by acts of aggression. At the same time the oligarchs had no intention of lowering Japan's international position, and were always careful to see that her prestige was in no way impaired.

Thus, for example, for a number of years the whole of Japan's foreign policy was directed to secure the abrogation of the terms of the treaties contracted by the Shogun with the principal European nations, which the Japanese people regarded as intensely humiliating. Japan was prohibited from levying more than a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* customs duty; no foreign resident in Japan was to be tried by Japanese courts, but was to be handed over to his respective consul. Foreigners were resident in special concessions, which had all the rights of extra-territoriality—they were not subject to national laws and regulations, or to national taxation, the residents of each concession imposing their own legislation and rates.

For a number of years the Japanese diplomats were constant in beseeching the foreign Powers to consent to the revision of these treaties, but the petitions were uniformly refused, while the establishment of mixed courts in which Japanese and Europeans were to have equal and divided power, which might have been acceptable to Europe, was received with such violent disapprobation at home that the ministers, such as Okuma, who put forward the scheme, were compelled to resign. At last, in 1894, the year of the Chino-Japanese War, Ito, the wiliest of the diplomats, prevailed upon England to consent to a revision, to take place five years afterwards, before which time the Japanese laws were to be codified. By 1899 all the other Powers had arranged to do the same, so that shortly after extra-territoriality was abolished.

Needless to say, this measure met with a storm of protest from the Occidental residents in Japan. They complained of the veniality of the courts, of the open bribery and corruption practised by the judges; they pointed out that the intense nationalism of the people would cause them to decide against the foreigner in all doubtful cases, but their protests were unheeded and merely resulted in crystallizing the animosity which had previously existed between the European merchant and the native inhabitants.

Meanwhile that constant source of agitation and discord, Korea, had again necessitated diplomatic attention. In 1880 a Japanese Legation was established at Seoul, the capital. Two years later it was attacked by a mob enraged at the Japanese intrigues, and the staff had to fight its way to the harbour of Chemulpo, where it took refuge on a British gunboat. For this the Korean Government paid an indemnity and consented to the demand that in future Japanese troops be quartered at the Legation to protect its interests. In spite of this, however, in 1884, during the riot which took place in that year in Seoul, another Korean mob, assisted this time by certain Chinese troops, attacked the Legation and succeeded in burning it to the ground.

The affair was complicated by the fact that China claimed to be Korea's suzerain, and that accordingly any attempt at reparation was to be met with China's declaration of war. Had the time been ripe or the Japanese Government different in personnel, hostilities

would have been inevitable; but after considerable negotiations Ito, all-powerful in Japan, and Li Hung Chang, the most notable Chinese statesman, concluded a treaty at Tientsin on behalf of their respective countries, whereby it was agreed that both should withdraw the major part of their troops from Korea and contract never to send more without previous mutual notification. It was further arranged that Korea should indemnify Japan for damages, but from this time on until the Chino-Japanese War China had the upper hand in Korea on all matters of internal policy.

Affairs continued in this way for nine years. During this time Japan rapidly developed her resources. The Army and Navy largely increased in numbers and in efficiency. The Constitution was promulgated, the finances put in order, and Japan began to regard herself as a budding World Power.

At the end of this time it was no longer necessary for her to devote herself exclusively to internal reform and reconstruction. Above all, since the meeting of the Diet, Radicalism threatened to become prevalent, and the absolute power of the Bureaucracy was in danger. To strengthen its diminished prestige it was necessary for the Government to assert itself, and by conquests abroad distract the populace from internal agitation. Even Ito, at this time Prime Minister, was converted to the new views, and took the first opportunity of striking the decisive blow.

It came in 1894. An insurrection broke out in

the southern provinces, and the King of Korea besought the Emperor of China to send sufficient troops to quell it. This request was readily complied with, and on June 8 a small body of Chinese soldiery was despatched to Asan, south of Seoul. Hearing of this the Japanese landed, four days afterwards, at Chemulpo a corresponding force which marched on the capital the next day. By the end of June the Japanese army numbered 8,000 men, against the Chinese 2,500.

At this juncture the Japanese Government felt strong enough to show its hand. It challenged the traditional Chinese supremacy by proposing to China a co-operative reform of Korea. This proposal was, of course, refused, whereupon Japan declared that she alone would undertake the task, and further notified the Chinese Government that the despatch of more troops to Korea would be considered an act of war. The only answer to this was the forwarding of about 8,000 Chinese soldiers to the various parts of the peninsula.

On July 20 the Japanese delivered an ultimatum to both the Chinese and Korean Governments, the only result of which was the mobilization of further Chinese troops in the northern districts, some 11,000 being prepared for a march on the capital. On July 23 the Japanese army in Seoul seized the palace and all the Royal Family and ministers. These were intimidated into signing a decree asking the Japanese troops to expel the Chinese. On the 25th a naval engagement took place between the two countries off the Korean

coast, in which the Chinese were badly beaten, following which on August 1 came the formal declaration of war.

Regarding the characteristics of the two Powers Porter, in his *Japan, the Rise of a Modern Power,* has given an excellent summary: "The Chinese represented the conservative and the civilian, the Japanese the progressive and the military forces. . . . In China change was disliked, in Japan it was welcomed. The people ruled by the Manchu Sovereign at Peking despised soldiers, whereas the subjects of the Mikado had for centuries looked up to and revered the Samurai. . . . Their Emperor was regarded by the Chinese as the spring of some complicated machine contrived by merely human intelligence, but the Japanese considered the Mikado to be a god, and his ancestors to be disembodied divinities."

Those unacquainted with the situation imagined that China, with its teeming millions and its immense resources, was sure to emerge the victor; but those who had inside knowledge as to the state of the military forces and national morale had something of the feeling expressed by a worthy Russian colonel in the Shanghai Club who declared to his incredulous audience that he would "bet one thousand to one on the Japanese and even so would be stealing their money."

The indolence, the sloth, the extravagance and waste, the corruption, incapacity, and inefficiency of the Chinese Government was nowhere more evident than in its military forces. There was practically no

such thing as a national army. The viceroy of each province was allowed a certain small amount for the organization of a local guard. There was no inspection to guarantee that this money was properly spent, so that out of a nominal army of 9,000 there were actually only as many hundred, the pay for the remainder finding its way into the viceroy's pocket. Even those enlisted were, for the most part, the scum of the populace, ex-criminals and the like, and were inadequately drilled and equipped. In the few instances where they possessed proper rifles and ammunition, they had no idea as to their use. Furthermore, so decentralized and unco-ordinated was the Army that during hostilities the Government was unable to employ any troops other than those immediately around the capital and the surrounding Gulf of Pechili.

The Chinese Army, if we can dignify it by such a name, was divided into three categories: (1) The Banner Men, or the descendants of the Manchu conquerors and of the renegade Chinese who had rallied to their cause; (2) the Green Standard Men, the descendants of the remains of the old Chinese army which had been defeated by the Manchus; and (3) the Braves, who were the remnants of Gordon's "ever-victorious" force and their successors.

Only the Banner Men in Manchuria proper were of any use, together with a small body of specially trained "Braves" and Green Standard soldiers. Apart from the Imperial bodyguard and a few thousand special Banner Men stationed in Peking, all of the effective

forces were placed under the command of Li Hung Chang. This, however, did not amount to much, for out of a total of 400 million there were only as many thousand even semi-trained troops, while the soldiers within effective reach numbered at the most 125,000.

In like manner with the Navy. Though the nominal standing of the Chinese Navy was far superior to that of Japan, the latter had an actual superiority. Of the four squadrons of the Chinese fleet, that stationed in the north was the only one engaged. Even this should have been more than capable of handling anything Japan could send, but better discipline more than made up for any numerical inferiority.

From the beginning it was obvious that the war, as far as China was concerned, was to be defensive. She had no troops capable of making an invasion, and the harbours of Japan were too well protected to allow a naval attack. The Japanese, on the other hand, were determined to paralyze their enemies by the capture of Peking.

A glance at the map shows that in order to accomplish this aim certain preliminaries were necessary. These were : (1) That Korea be occupied and used as a base for themselves and to prevent an attck by the Chinese from that quarter ; (2) that the two entrances of the Pechili Gulf be seized. The northern side was the very important strategic point of the Liao Tung Peninsula, at the head of which was Port Arthur and Dairen, while on the south was the Peninsula of Wei-hai-wei, which had not yet fallen into British hands.

Once these points had succumbed to the Japanese their fleet could steam into the gulf in safety, and land troops at Taku, which was less than a day's march from Peking.

This fact the Japanese Staff saw very clearly, and moulded its campaign accordingly. We may divide the war into three periods, in each of which the corresponding position mentioned above was secured.

From the end of July until October the Japanese were engaged in driving the Chinese out of Korea. After possessing themselves of the southern and western portions of that peninsula, it proved a fairly easy matter to push the Chinese army to the north, while the victory of October 25 on the Yalu River, which divides Korea from the mainland, marked the end of this phase of the war.

The occupation of the Liao Tung Peninsula took from October until January, and included the capture by storm of Port Arthur and Dairen and the defeat at Kaiping and elsewhere of the Chinese forces stationed in Manchuria. This campaign may be said to have ended on January 17, 1895, when a last feeble assault by the Chinese was repulsed.

Two days later (January 19) an expeditionary force set sail from Dairen for the capture of Wei-hai-wei, the southern entrance of the Pechili Gulf, which was occupied on February 2. By the 16th of the same month all the surrounding forts and the fleet in the harbour had surrendered.

The struggle from the Chinese point of view was

now hopeless, and, though the Japanese spent the next month in consolidating their position in Manchuria prior to a culminating attack on Peking, on March 8, an army of 30,000 Chinese was defeated near the mouth of the Liao River, and immediately the Chinese made preparations for peace. On March 20 Li Hung Chang landed at Shimonoseki and commenced negotiations with Ito. Though Li was attacked and wounded by a Japanese fanatic an armistice was concluded on March 30, and on April 17 the treaty of peace was signed. By its terms the independence of Korea was recognized (which, however, meant that it came under Japanese influence) and the whole of the Liao Tung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Dairen, as well as Formosa and the Pescadores, were ceded to Japan. China was further compelled to pay £12,000,000 in indemnity, and Wei-hai-wei was to be occupied until the whole amount had been handed over.

3. The Russo-Japanese War and the Events connected therewith

With the Chino-Japanese War Japan definitely embarked on a policy of militarism and aggrandizement. She set before her the ideal of being the most powerful of the Asiatic Powers, or rather the Power which, having control of Asia, vied for world supremacy. From this time onwards the civilians steadily lost favour and were superseded by the military

branch of the Bureaucracy, Ito and Inoue giving way to Yamagata, Katsun, and their friends.

Once the dormant chauvinism of the race had been awakened it was not surprising that it soon got out of hand. There was immense dissatisfaction among the people on the conclusion of the Chinese war because the Japanese troops had not entered Peking and because the terms were not more drastic. This feeling, needless to say, was not decreased by the fact that immediately afterwards France, Russia, and Germany presented a note to Japan whereby she was forced to retrocede to China Port Arthur, Dairen, and the whole of the Liao Tung Peninsula, especially as from that period the European Powers began to encroach more and more upon the Chinese Empire. In 1897 Germany seized Tsingtau and the Bay of Kiaochau in the Shantung district just south of Wei-hai-wei, and in 1898 secured a ninety-years lease on these territories. Shortly after, by mutual consent of the Powers, Russia acquired the very ports of Port Arthur and Dairen from which the Japanese had been ejected on the grounds of protecting the integrity of China. At the same time France secured Kwangchau Bay in the south, and Great Britain obtained territory in the vicinity of Hongkong, and also Wei-hai-wei, which at that time was still in the hands of the Japanese.

Japan was not content with bitterly resenting these moves. She very greatly enlarged both her Army and Navy, and made strenuous efforts to become

industrially and financially independent of the West in order that she might be able to wage war and compete economically with any one of the great European Powers. These endeavours were attended with success, so that in the Boxer trouble, when all the leading nations sent expeditions to guard foreign interests in Peking, the Japanese contingent was considered equal in all respects to the others. From this time on Japan was regarded as a definite factor to be counted upon, or, in fact, as a new Great Power.

This fact greatly encouraged the Japanese in the rivalry which had sprung up between themselves and Russia as to which was to possess supreme power in Far Eastern affairs, more particularly with reference to Korea and Manchuria. At this time Russia had great dreams of an Oriental dominion. The newly acquired and much-coveted Port Arthur was refortified, and no expense was spared in developing both this and the city of Dalny, which was laid out on the shores of the Dairen Bay. In the spring of 1899 the Russians began to connect these ports with the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was to be completed, except for the section around Lake Baikal, by the end of the year. Russian influence was greatly extended in Manchuria, and even Korea—which, having wrested it from China, the Japanese set out to devour—was made the scene of Russian intrigue.

In 1896 Russia made a treaty whereby she had a right to maintain a Legation Guard at Seoul of the same strength as the Japanese, which was 800 men.

In 1897 the British adviser to the Korean Court was ousted and several Russian military and financial advisers installed. After the Japanese had obtained several counter-concessions, a convention was signed in Tokyo in 1898 whereby both Russia and Japan recognized the independence of Korea and promised to send neither military nor financial advisers to that country without mutual consent. This convention was broken constantly by both parties through underhand intrigues, while the Boxer rising, though it greatly enhanced Japan's reputation, also served to consolidate Russia's position in the Far East, especially in Manchuria.

Gradually, as time went on, it became more and more obvious that Russia and Japan were to be the two great Powers in whose hands the future of Eastern Asia lay. The only question was whether the two countries would be able to divide the booty amicably between them, or whether there was to be a conflict whereby one was to secure the whole.

Even in Japan there were adherents of both schools. Ito and Inoue, the civilian section of the Bureaucracy, were anxious to prevent war, and were therefore desirous that Japan enter into an alliance with Russia and France. This would have resulted in a peaceful division of "spheres of influence." Ito, of course, exerted a strong influence, and for some time there was reason to suppose that he would be successful. Even during the negotiations regarding the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the German *chargé d'affaires* at London

informed the British Foreign Office that he had secret information that Japan was considering a Russian alliance, and certainly Ito was at that time on the point of going to St. Petersburg to arrange matters with the Czar.

Yamagata and the militarists were in favour of a fight to the finish and desired to see the Russian factor in Oriental politics entirely eliminated. They were, however, anxious that the battle should be single-handed on both sides. By this time Japan had grown sufficiently strong to be able to cope with any *one* of the foreign Powers, but was naturally unable to carry on a struggle with a combination. She was afraid that France would come to the aid of Russia in case of war. In the eyes of this school there was only one way to prevent this—an alliance with England. If England and Japan would promise to come to one another's assistance in case of attack by more than one Power, Japan would be permitted to wage war with Russia alone without danger from France or elsewhere.

England, on the other hand, would welcome such an alliance as freeing her from risk of Russian aggression in India and China. She could expect that Japan would be able to keep the Tzar's hands tied for many years to come.

These arguments found favour in both countries, though there is much evidence to show that the idea was fostered by the Kaiser for reasons of his own. However this may be, the Anglo-Japanese alliance was patched up, and signed on January 20, 1902.

Germany was, of course, notified, but contrary to opinion in certain circles showed no intention of joining the alliance, for a reason not difficult to fathom. Had she done so Russia would have dropped all Oriental designs and devoted her entire energies to the European danger.

Once the treaty of alliance was signed Japan was able to move fairly swiftly, but various negotiations took up another two years, and it was January 13, 1904, before Japan sent an ultimatum to Russia regarding her Far Eastern policy. On February 6, no answer having been received, the Japanese ambassador at St. Petersburg asked for his passports.

Generally speaking, the sympathy of the entire world, with the exception of France, was with the Japanese, but as in the case of the Chino-Japanese War, uninformed public opinion greatly overestimated the strength and resources of Japan's opponent. Quite apart from the corruption and inefficiency of both of her services, the military forces which Russia possessed had for the most part to be kept in Europe and but a small proportion could be sent to Manchuria, which from first to last was the scene of battle. No victory in the East could offset a disaster on her Western front, and it was notorious that the German General Staff had a fully prepared plan of invasion in case the Russo-German frontier was weakened. Germany was in alliance with Austria and Italy. She had a close understanding with Turkey and the Balkan States. Relations between France and England were

not over-friendly at this time, and those between Russia and England were worse. The smaller countries, such as Sweden, had unfulfilled grudges to pay at the expense of the Muscovites. The Russians were by no means independent in matters concerning finance or ordnance, and even those arsenals which she possessed were in close proximity to German territory and had to be closely watched.

An even more important consideration was that the Trans-Siberian Railway had not been entirely completed. Even though she had been able to spare them, Russia had no means of transporting more than a small number of men across the immense distances to the scene of hostility. Accordingly, notwithstanding her immense nominal man-power, at no time during the war which followed had Russia more than a million men east of Lake Baikal, and in 1904, at the commencement of hostilities, there were in the Far East only some 83,350 men, including 70,000 infantry, 4,200 cavalry, and 196 guns.

Opposed to her was Japan, whose insular position everywhere secured her from attack. The only other Powers capable of harming her were England and America, both sympathetic. France was powerless to injure. The battlefield was far enough away from home to preclude the threat of invasion, and near enough to insure easy transportation of men and food. Not only were her men splendidly equipped and trained, but in February, at the outbreak of the war, Japan possessed 850,000 trained soldiers, while the untrained

material numbered some 4,250,000 souls, practically all of whom could be despatched wherever occasion demanded. It is estimated that during the war she landed 1,500,000 men in Manchuria.

From the naval point of view Japan was in an even more favourable position. Of available naval bases Russia possessed but two—Port Arthur, where the docks were incapable of receiving battleships, and Vladivostock, which was ice-bound part of the year. The Japanese had four excellent bases, in addition to her numerous harbours and straits, which served as pre-eminently suitable bases of operation. In ships available for the Pacific she had an overwhelming preponderance.

Russia was in a ferment of internal discontent. Most of her subjects opposed the war. The Japanese were seething with militarism and enthusiasm for martial enterprises. Knowing above all that they were fighting for "hearth and home" (or their Japanese equivalents), it is no wonder that they won all along the line.

The plan of campaign was comparatively simple. The Russian fleet was bottled up in Port Arthur and Vladivostock, and destroyed bit by bit whenever it ventured out, so that Japan was left with the control of the sea. The insufficiency of the Russian troops at the beginning of the war enabled her quickly to overrun Korea, the first real battle being on the banks of the Yalu River at the base of the Korean Peninsula, where Kuroki compelled the Russians to retire. Gradually

pushing forward his manœuvres, he forced them farther and farther back towards the city of Liao Yang, in the north-west.

In the meantime General Oku had landed near the tip of the Liao Tung Peninsula just behind Port Arthur, cutting that harbour off from the main Russian army. Dalny and Dairen Bay having been captured, General Nogi was left to invest the port itself, while Oku and the main body marched north into Manchuria, driving the Russians before them. While Kuroki was advancing from the east and Oku from the west, another Japanese army was landed in the centre at Takushan, and by its steady progress was able to guard the other two armies from flank attacks. Eventually this force, under General Nodzu, was able to form a junction with the other two armies near the above-mentioned city.

Here a large body of Russian soldiers had been assembled, and Marshal Oyama arriving to command operations (the Russians had for their leader the amiable but not over-energetic or efficient Kuropatkin), from August 23 to September 3, 1904, a pitched battle ensued, in which the Russian army was far from broken, but which was drawn several miles farther back to the vicinity of Mukden. Here the second and last of the great battles of the war was waged, beginning about February 23, 1905, and going on at intervals until March 16, with the same result as before—the Russians forced to retreat without being badly beaten.

In the meantime Port Arthur had fallen (January 2, 1905), the fleets in Vladivostock and Port Arthur

vanquished and the Baltic fleet sent out to the East badly defeated, so that the Japanese had met with success on all fields. Nevertheless it was obvious that the Russians were by no means out of the running. Their armies were intact; the enemy had not gained a single foot of territory in Russia proper (not even Russian Siberia); reinforcements were beginning to pour in. The European situation was, however, unfavourable: revolution had broken out at home; the people took no interest in the war; Kuropatkin had always been against it; so that peace negotiations were commenced. From later evidence it seems probable that Russia was by no means desirous that the negotiations should go through, and that she was tricked by a very adroit move on the part of the Japanese, a fact which was first pointed out by Mr. Robert Young, of the *Japan Chronicle,* and which has been emphasized by Maclaren in his *Political History of Japan.*

On September 5, 1905, a peace was signed which recognized Japan's suzerainty over Korea, while the southern portion of the Island of Saghalien was ceded to Japan, as were Port Arthur and Dalny. No indemnity was paid on either side.

4. Japan and the Great War, 1914-1918

As in 1895, the conclusion of the war only marked the commencement of a period of enormous military and naval increase. At this time Japan had no rival in sight. Russia was weakened, England was her ally,

America had certainly no hostile intentions at this early date. France, Germany, and Italy were prevented geographically from collusion. Nevertheless Japan straightway went about doubling her Army and Navy, though she loaded herself with debt in order to do so. Her dockyards were so improved that in addition to repairs she could build all of her own ships, up to the largest Dreadnoughts. The scanty iron resources were developed so as to enable her arsenals to be independent of imports, her trade increased so that she should suffer from no financial dependence or inferiority.

In all these endeavours Germany had been more and more her model. German science, art, customs, codes, tactics, philosophy, were diligently studied and admired. It is no small wonder that the popularity of the Anglo-Saxon began to wane. From 1905 to 1914 the world was several times agitated by the possibility of a Japan-American war, while the Anglo-Japanese alliance which had been hailed with such enthusiasm in 1902, and which had subsequently been revised and reratified, was looked upon as a burden by a large portion of the population.

At the same time the policy of a "forward movement" (as it was called) in Asia began to play a very important part in the national councils. Korea was annexed notwithstanding previous promises to maintain its independence, and great efforts were made to secure the control of Manchuria. By their victory over the Russians the Japanese acquired not only Port Arthur and Dairen, but also the section of the Manchurian

Railway south of Changchun. This they used as a means of furthering their influence. The new railway was run by a South Manchurian Railway Company, half of whose £20,000,000 capital was subscribed by the Government. This company soon exercised such rights in Manchuria as the old East India Company had done in India. It undertook the management of the Dairen harbour, the working of the Fushun collieries, the laying out of new towns, the establishment of hotels, and the general development of the industrial, commercial, and agricultural resources. Japan secured the right for her consuls to act as commissioners of the Chinese Government. Their powers have grown so wide that they include all matters appertaining to an ordinary State, such as justice, education, public health, and communications.

It must be confessed, however, that though the Japanese have proved extremely successful colonists from the material point of view, erecting splendid edifices, building roads, schools, hospitals, and so on, in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria, yet it has been done by purely Prussian methods and at the expense of the local inhabitants. All of the peoples subject to her rule are filled with an intense hatred towards Japan and eagerly look forward either to independence or to transfer to some other and more benign Power. This feeling was and is equally intense in all of the colonies (including Manchuria), but it was only in Korea that means, albeit unsuccessful, were found of expressing it in the delegation to the Peace Conference of 1918.

Meanwhile, in 1914 Japan naturally became involved in the Great European War in so far as it affected the welfare of the Far East. Owing to the strong pro-German feeling among the military and civil Bureaucrats in Japan, the German Government hoped to have Japan abrogate the Anglo-Japanese alliance and come in on her side. In fact at the beginning of hostilities a favourable demonstration was made before the Japanese Embassy in Berlin on the rumour circulating that she had actually done so. Fortunately for the Allies, however, Japan decided to live up to her treaty obligations and declared war on Germany, though her activities were limited exclusively to Asia and to matters which were for her own benefit, except that she lent a number of ships to help in the anti-submarine warfare.

In Asia her movements have been as follows: (1) The capture of Tsingtau and the seizure of the surrounding portions of the Shangtung Peninsula; (2) the capture of the German island possessions in the Pacific; (3) the guarding of the Pacific; and, finally (4), the Siberian expedition.

Tsingtau was besieged at the end of August, 1914, and eventually fell November 7 of the same year. The Japanese were assisted by a small body of British troops under General Barnardiston, and it is unfortunate that these made a very bad impression on the Japanese, for mutual misunderstandings and recriminations took place, which were never officially published but which were circulated and exaggerated privately,

and tended to increase the anti-English feeling which was already latent.

In 1916 the newspapers of Japan launched a long and bitter series of attacks on the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the *Yamato Shimbun* of Tokyo being particularly vituperative. By Government order these were eventually silenced, but public opinion remained the same. Practically all military authorities, whatever their sympathies (and, broadly speaking, the Navy was pro-British, and the Army pro-German), felt sure that the Germans were sure to win, or at least make a drawn battle; in fact it was well known that the Government had made all preparations for necessary action in case of German victory.

Towards the end of 1917 and at the beginning of 1918 various articles appeared in prominent magazines advising the formation of an alliance with Germany. Before long there was a strong party which advocated a German-Russian-Japanese alliance which could, so it was said, dominate the world; this was after the revolution in and defection of Russia. There was, no doubt, much pro-British feeling in Japan, but it was curiously silent after 1915 and before August, 1918. However this may be, we must be very thankful that Japan did not go farther than this, for her hostility would have had an enormous influence on the course of the war.

There can be no doubt that the war has greatly benefited Japan, both financially and politically. She went into it a debtor, and has emerged a creditor.

Not only did she oust the German trade in the Far East, but also secured much of the English commerce in China, India, and Australia. The last two she may yet lose, but it is probable that China will become more and more her own province. While she has been enriching herself, all the other great Powers (with the possible exception of the United States) have become impoverished, so that it seems likely that Japan will become one of the great dominating factors in international finance.

The last Prime Minister, Count Terauchi, encouraged the idea of expansion in Siberia, but the American demand that the Siberian expedition should only be undertaken on a strict guarantee of territorial integrity caused the expedition to become extremely unpopular. His successor believes in the gradual absorption of China in much the same way as Korea. As far back as September, 1916, Japan made certain drastic demands upon China, and though as we have seen, these demands were subsequently slightly modified, Japan secured the acknowledgment of the priority of her influence in that country. This has been increased under the present Administration, so that there seems nothing to prevent a policy of peaceful penetration, much as the English have pursued in Persia and in Egypt.

One fact deserves attention. At the beginning of the war the great Powers of the world were enumerated as Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, America, and Japan. The first three are now *hors de*

combat; Italy and France, according to Japanese opinion, may be considered relegated to the position of second-class Powers; so that the only great nations which remain are England, America, and Japan. We have here, therefore, a new balance of power, and whether this new "balance" will be any less unstable than the old remains to be seen.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE ARMY

1. The Divisions of the Army—Conscription.
2. Personnel.

1. The Divisions of the Army—Conscription

We have examined the development of the Japanese Army and Navy, and how, by using them, Japan has made herself one of the supreme Powers of the earth. Let us now, by way of an appendix, consider one or two points relative to their organization.

The system as applied to the Army is extremely simple yet effective. In addition to the Imperial Guards, the bulk of the Army is separated into a number of divisions, which we have seen to number nineteen in peace time. Although each branch of the service has an independent organization, yet every division has attached to it representatives of each. The exact number and proportion varies considerably with each division and from time to time. Since about 1900 no exact figures have been given, but at that time the average division had assigned to it two

brigades of infantry (each brigade being composed of two regiments, making a total of four infantry regiments), one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of artillery, one battalion of engineers, and one battalion of the Army Service Corps.

Each regiment of infantry consists of four battalions, and each battalion of three companies. In the cavalry, however, a regiment consists of only three or four squadrons, while a regiment of artillery has six batteries, each battery having, on an average, six guns. A battalion of engineers is composed of three companies, while the Army Service Corps battalion has usually some 300 men attached to it.

It should be remembered, however, that the Japanese War Department is somewhat chary of furnishing information, and the present figures differ considerably from those given here. There have been various rumours that, in addition to the nineteen ordinary divisions, there are some two "secret divisions." As the army estimates require the consent of the Emperor alone, this would be quite possible.

In addition to the above Japan has given especial attention to what we may call the special branches, such as the Medical Corps, the Garrison Artillery, the Air Force, Veterinary Corps, the Survey and Map-making Department, and the Ordnance Section, etc., so that these may be said to be more than usually efficient.

With many other customs borrowed from Germany, Japan has adopted the German system of conscription.

At eighteen a man comes before the Medical Board and is either rejected, accepted, or remanded for another year. As finances do not allow of the employ of all medically fit men, the prescribed number are chosen by lot, the others being placed in the reserves or supernumeraries. In the cavalry and artillery colour service is for three years, but for the infantry those who are conscripted have to serve the following term : two years with the colours (*genyeki*), seven and one-third years with the first reserve (*gobi*), seven years with the second reserves (*yobi*), and until forty with the General Reserve (*kokuminhei*). Of those who escape the *genyeki* or colour service a certain number are allotted to the first supernumeraries, who, after undergoing a short course of training, serve for seven and one-third years with the ordinary reserves before being placed with the General Reserve, while those who remain are put in the second supernumeraries, where, without training, they serve for one and a half years before going into the General Reserve.

As in Germany, there are also one-year volunteers. Persons who attend the higher schools and universities are allowed to postpone military service until they are twenty-eight, when they are allowed to volunteer for one year's service, paying all of their own expenses. From this section most of the officers of the Reserve are chosen.

2. PERSONNEL

Privates in the Army are either second-class, first-class, or special soldiers. The non-commissioned ranks are corporal, sergeant, sergeant-major, and special sergeant-major.[1] The commissioned ranks correspond to but are simpler in nomenclature than the English ranks. There are three grades, *I*, *Sa*, and *Sho*, which may be called company, regimental, and divisional ranks, each of these being divided into *sho* (lesser), *chu* (medium), and *tai* (greater), so that altogether we have the following scale: *Sho-i* (2nd Lieutenant), *Chu-i* (1st Lieutenant), *Tai-i* (Captain), *Sho-sa* (Major), *Chu-sa* (Lieut.-Colonel), *Tai-sa* (Colonel), *Sho-sho* (Brigadier-General), *Chu-sho* (Lieut.-General), and *Tai-sho* (General). Above all come the *Gensui* or Field-Marshals.

Officers are chosen from the graduates of the Military Academy (*Shikwan Gakko*). There are several modes of entering that institution. One, the least common, is merely by passing a stiff examination on all necessary subjects. Graduates of middle schools may enter by showing proficiency in mathematics and foreign languages. The usual course, however, is for a boy to pass through, first, one of the local military preparatory schools, and, next, the central military preparatory school, whereupon, without further preliminaries, he enters the Military Academy.

According to Japanese regulations a cadet must pass

several months as an ordinary private soldier, save that he is promoted rapidly to the non-commissioned ranks. After graduation he is attached for six months to some regiment in the branch which he has chosen, after which, if he be satisfactory, he is granted a commission as a 2nd Lieutenant. Promotions to a Lieutenancy are usually made two-thirds by seniority and one-third by merit (*i.e.*, out of nine posts, six will be filled by the aspirants in the order of their seniority, and three by those who have shown peculiar merit). Promotions to a Captaincy are made one-half by seniority, and one-half by merit. Above the rank of Captain promotion by merit alone prevails, and, as a consequence, many officers never get above this rank. At the age of forty-eight or so, if a man has not risen to the rank of Major, he is forced to retire.

As a rule appointment to the higher ranks is made in the following manner: Every year the most promising of the Subalterns and Lieutenants are singled out and sent for further training to the Staff College. It is from the graduates of this institution, who wear a special star-badge on their right waist, that the important posts are filled, though it may be a number of years before such a person will gain immediate promotion. Accordingly it is when a man is young and still "in the making" that his future is decided.

In addition to the above-mentioned schools we find numerous others, such as the Artillery and Engineering School, the Toyama Military Training School, the

Military Riding School, the Field Artillery School, the Paymaster School, Army Surgery Schools, and so on, where men who are taking up special branches are adequately trained.

The army officer in Japan is extremely patriotic and capable. Not only can he, but must he, live on his pay, very few having private incomes. The uniform in each branch is the same—*e.g.*, all infantry officers, irrespective of regiment, have the same uniform. All extravagance in living is strictly prohibited.

The control of the Army is vested in the War Department, the General Staff, and the Board of Field-Marshals, who have under them special bureaux devoted to each branch of the service.

The organization of the Navy is much the same; but since, save for features indicated above, it conforms to more or less English lines, it is unnecessary to go into details.

Japan has devoted much time to her Secret Service, which is extraordinarily efficient. Like that of the Germans, it may be roughly divided into three sections, the naval, the military, and the diplomatic, while there are in addition numerous agents who report on matters concerning commerce and industry.

Much energy has also been expended in perfecting the arsenals and dockyards, so that on these matters she is now independent of foreign aid. She can build her own Dreadnoughts and cast all of her own big guns, all of the little iron which she possesses being

devoted to this purpose, so that her industries must look abroad for her supplies.

The Air Force has, up to the present, been much neglected, but recently strenuous efforts have been made to bring her aerial force up to the level of the West, and judging by her past performances she will be more than successful.

PART V

THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN

Government auspices, and so far has proved a great success, though a small number of radicals, including those trained under Tagore (the brother of the poet) in India, have started a rival affair of their own.

The Japanese cannot claim to be a religious race unless Emperor-worship and patriotism be considered a religion. Yet, in addition to such recent introductions as Christianity, we find three religions firmly established. These are Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism.

Strange to say the people are to a certain extent adherents of all three faiths at once. Shinto is the native and national religion. In its present form (apart from the thirteen sects) it inculcates little more than a worship of ancestors, national heroes, the Emperor, and the Imperial Ancestors, including the primal deities from whom they sprang. Confucianism is a social or moral code, possessing in its Japanese phase neither priests nor temples. Buddhism alone has a profound metaphysic and offers to the seeker after truth an acute analysis of the basic problems of existence.

According to a popular proverb, a man in his youth attends a Shinto shrine, in his maturity is regulated by the ethical sayings of Confucius and his followers, and when in old age he inquires into the mysteries of the universe he takes up the study of Buddhism.

The story of the development of these three faiths is of great fascination. It is one which has never been properly told, but with it we cannot possibly attempt to cope. We must content ourselves with emphasizing

CHAPTER XV

THE REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

1. General Methods of Reorganization. 2 Banking and Currency.

1. General Methods of Reorganization

As we have frequently pointed out, at the time of the Restoration Japan was not only faced with bankruptcy but was entirely at the end of her tether. Neither the Shogunal, the Imperial, nor the feudal Governments had money or credit, and for a number of years the new Bureaucracy, who may be regarded as the national receivers, were forced to keep the ship of State in action by means of fiat paper money.

Nor did the resources of the country or the state of industry give great promise of improvement. Manufactures and commerce had held such a low place in the national esteem that they were relegated to the lowest classes. At the most there were guilds of craftsmen producing many dainty and beautiful articles, which were, however, utterly incapable of sustaining a rejuvenated community.

Urgent measures were required, and the Bureau-

cracy at once set about reorganizing the social fabric. The chief points in their programme were as follows:

First, the despatch of agents abroad to study European methods of agriculture and manufacture and to draw up plans for their adaptation to Japan, as well as the engagement of foreign experts to see that such schemes were properly carried out. This included also the founding of experimental stations and laboratories.

Second, the inauguration of a very complete system of education whereby the masses could avail themselves of the facts thus acquired, and rearrange their activities accordingly.

Third, the establishment, under Government auspices, of model factories, foundries, farms, etc., which were gradually given over to private enterprise, and which were of incalculable benefit to so uninitiative a race as the Japanese.

Fourth, the institution of an efficient banking and currency system whereby the development of private concerns could be suitably fostered and controlled.

All these points have come, to a certain extent, under our notice, more particularly the first and third, so that we may content ourselves with a brief summarization of the second and fourth features.

As regards education, it is of interest to note that in 1872 (two years after the passage of the Board School Act in England) education was made compulsory in Japan. Though it was some years before this provision could be strictly complied with, the authorities are now in a position to see that the law

is rigidly enforced, and as a consequence Japan now ranks high in literacy, higher, in fact, than England and America.

Unlike education in England and America, in Japan it is strictly nationalized. There are few schools which are not controlled by the State (unlike England, where the "public" schools are in this sense private schools), while the ultimate control is not in the local (as in America), but in the national Government. Except for the Peers' School in Tokyo, all boys, rich and poor alike, go to the same institutions.

The control and co-ordination of all the schools is in the hands of the Minister of Education, but the actual maintenance of the various types is divided in the following way: Primary schools are in the hands of the local authorities, secondary schools of all sorts in those of the Prefectural authorities; the higher schools, including the universities and special academies, are conducted directly by the central Government. All schools, however, are subject to inspection, and all teachers, textbooks, and buildings must be passed and licensed by the Department of Education. No course is free, but the tuition fees are extraordinarily low. The curriculum is much the same as that of Germany.

On one point Japan has been extremely wise—practical, technical, and specialized education have been especially favoured. The Government has a horror of seeing its young men full of general and scrappy information, which can be of no real use to them or to the country—of education such as we find

it in India, which prepares a man for being only a doctor, a lawyer, or a journalist, with the result that most become political agitators. Even in the Japanese primary schools we find evidences of specialization. In towns the elements of commerce and bookkeeping are given ; in manufacturing districts ideas of industry, and the ends and means of engineering ; in agricultural districts they are taught how to cultivate the soil most efficiently ; while on the sea-coast scientific methods of catching fish are shown. Girls are everywhere instructed in sewing and cooking, and in many cases the elements of sericulture.

When we come to secondary education, we find special schools established for these lines, for in addition to the ordinary middle schools, which give a general education in preparation for one of the higher schools, there are institutions especially devoted to the teaching of agriculture, commerce, engineering, fishery, navigation. We find, in addition, apprenticeship schools for all trades, technical continuation schools, and normal schools, where primary school teachers are trained.

In the higher schools this tendency towards specialization is even more marked. Even the general schools, which are the high schools (Koto Gakko, or University Preparatory Schools), and the universities are divided into departments, the more important being law, medicine, literature, science, engineering, agriculture, and commerce. As we have previously noted, the literature section (equivalent to our B.A. or M.A.

course) is the least popular of all. Furthermore, there are higher special schools, such as the Higher Commercial School (giving degrees in commerce), the Navigation College, and so on, which turn out men fitted to be cogs in some particular machine. Entrance into these institutions may be had either from the secondary special school or from the ordinary middle school.

Now let us see the result of this system. Since all of the great business concerns are the result of semi-Governmental inspiration, they choose their higher employees and future managers from the graduates of the Higher Commercial School, their subordinate clerks from the ordinary commercial school, and their underlings from those who have gone no higher than the primary school. In no country in the world may it be said of the industrial world to the same extent as in Japan, "as a tree falleth, so will it lie"—or, in other words, according to his education so is a man's future. The plums of the national life are reserved for the graduates of the Imperial universities, and so on in a gradually descending scale.

Though much may be said against the scheme, it results in the appointment to the right post of the right man. A person is trained along a special line, and sooner or later he is put in a place where he may use his abilities. A man may be a pauper with no friends or powerful relatives, and yet by carefully training himself in the principles of commerce become the manager of one of the leading firms in the country.

Let us take a concrete example. Supposing the son of some farmer in England desires to become an officer in the Mercantile Marine. What must he do? The father must inquire among his friends for a suitable navigation school, and should he succeed in getting his son through such an institution there is still the long and troublesome search for a berth, which may, in the end, prove to be a *cul-de-sac*. In Japan the parent would see the name of the Navigation College in the list of Government schools. This institution is divided into two branches, navigation proper and engineering. The boy will enter one or the other of these by means of an examination, and at the end of his course will almost automatically receive an appointment in one of the three great shipping firms which monopolize the large proportion of the Japanese Merchant Marine.

2. Banking and Currency

The history of Japan's banking and monetary system is one of triumph under extraordinary difficulties. In the old days banks as we know them at present were, of course, entirely non-existent. The new and struggling concerns which the early Bureaucrats succeeded in forming were forced to reorganize the currency, redeem the enormous issues of paper money which the Government had been compelled to make, and in addition supply capital to the recently instituted companies then attempting to develop the national

resources. At a later date the banks had to bear the brunt of the change from a silver to a gold standard (after having passed through a gold, a bimetallic, and a silver standard).

The first banks date from 1872, when Ito, after a visit to America, formed a number of national banks on the American model. After 1876 these became enormously popular, and similar institutions sprang up like mushrooms. They played an important part at a critical time, but the financial state of the country rendered it necessary to centralize the currency system, so that in 1882 the Bank of Japan was established after the fashion of the central banks of France, Germany, and England. This company was given exclusive powers of currency issue, the national banks being abolished, though many reformed themselves as private concerns doing ordinary banking business. From that time onwards the Bank of Japan has been extremely successful, and as the arbiter of national finance has steered the State through all the difficult economic situations.

Its first and main task was the changing of the Government's notes from an inconvertible to a convertible basis. At that time so inflated was the paper currency that 1·79 paper yen was equivalent to only 1 silver yen, and national credit was consequently undermined. The Government was afraid to resort to the expedient of a foreign loan to secure a specie reserve, so it pursued a policy of hoarding or the gradual accumulation of bullion. This not proving

sufficiently rapid the Government, through the Bank of Japan and its ally, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the medium of foreign exchange, resolved upon a very bold experiment.

They were able with their immense resources to overbid all competitors and thus secure a monopoly of the foreign exchange. This being so, they forced the Japanese exporter to receive payment from the Yokohama Specie Bank in paper money while the bank collected from the foreign customer in specie. In this way the Government was able to secure a sufficient reserve in an astonishingly short time. Already in 1884 the Bank of Japan had taken to issuing convertible paper money, and in 1886 it was able to redeem all the previous inconvertible notes.

In the meantime all the other great nations had been changing their currency from a silver to a gold basis. Japan began to lose heavily from the constant fluctuation of the silver market. The indemnity which China was forced to pay after the Chino-Japanese War in 1894-95, which Japan insisted should be given in gold bullion, allowed her to have a sufficient reserve to change to the gold standard, which was done in 1897.

Though, however, the standard is gold and the currency convertible, yet the actual money in circulation is almost entirely paper, except for subsidiary coins, which are either copper or silver. During the war even the latter have been largely changed into paper, as, the real price of the silver or copper being greater than their token value, the coins have been

melted down. The currency is decimal and is extremely easy to master, being exactly half the value of the American and Canadian coins, one *sen* (half of a cent, or ½d.) being one one-hundredth part of one *yen* (50 cents, or approximately two shillings).

By far the largest banks are—the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Hypothec Bank, and the Industrial Bank, as well as the colonial banks, such as the Banks of Formosa, Korea, Hokkaido, etc. As previously mentioned, the Bank of Japan is the central organ of banking and is the keystone of the whole economic life. It has exclusive right to the issue of paper money. It may circulate paper money for any amount which is fully covered by gold bullion, and in addition £12,000,000 on good securities, anything over this amount being subject to a heavy Government tax.

The Yokohama Specie Bank has branches all over the world and is the chief organ of foreign exchange and international finance, including the conduct of foreign loans. The Hypothec or Mortgage Bank night be called the Bank of Agriculture. It lends money on real security to aid the development of the natural resources of the country, and through it the Government has a strong hold over the farmers and can force them to adopt modern methods. There are local Hypothec Banks scattered all over the country.

The Industrial Bank does for industry and to a certain extent for commerce what the Hypothec Banks do for agriculture, advancing money for new enterprises upon the security of bonds and stocks. These,

with the colonial banks, which are supreme in their respective territories, have a firm control over the economic life, and through them the Government can direct as it pleases the financial development of the nation. They are all officially Government organs, their governors or presidents being either appointed by the Government or else their nomination is subject to its veto.

There are, in addition, a large number of private banks (over two thousand in all), which play a very useful part in financing commerce, but which are, of course, far less important than the semi-official institutions.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PRIMARY INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN

1. Agriculture. 2. Forestry. 3. Fisheries. 4. Stock-Breeding. 5. Sericulture. 6. Mining.

WE are now free to pass to a consideration of the primary industries of Japan, which we may divide into agriculture, forestry, fisheries, stock-breeding, sericulture, and mining.

1. AGRICULTURE

From ancient times agriculture has occupied an important place in the national life, and in spite of the enormous development of manufacturing and commerce in recent years it still remains the chief industry and bulwark of the people. This is not as natural as might at first sight appear, for Japan is by no means well suited for cultivation. Its mountainous nature renders large portions absolutely unfitted for anything else than forests, the plains are few and small, the soil by no means attractive and rendered barren by centuries of over-cultivation with insufficient fertilizers. The pressure of population has resulted in the dividing up of the land into such small sections as would, to the Occidental farmer, appear unworkable. Stock-breed-

ing, for generations an almost unknown art, is still regarded askance by the Japanese farmer, and his poverty is so great that he is forced to have recourse to some additional methods of livelihood, such as the cultivation of silkworms, wherewith to eke out his scanty income.

Thus only one-sixth of the total area of the country is under cultivation, and only one-eighth would ordinarily be considered capable of agricultural exploitation. Only three persons in a hundred cultivate as much as 8 acres, and 70 per cent. of the whole farming class must subsist on holdings of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres or less. As a consequence it is necessary for them to force the unwilling soil to produce two, three, or even four crops a year. The children and wives of the farmers help in the fields, and reel the silk from the cocoons obtained from feeding the silkworms on the leaves of the mulberry-trees which grow on the upland field where the cultivation of other things would be impracticable.

Nor does the smallness of the holdings imply peasant proprietorship. Including the total area of Japan, some 35,000,000 *cho* or more, 21,000,000 belong to the Imperial Household or the State, though this portion consists chiefly of forests and is generally uncultivable land. Even with the privately owned and tilled land, however, we find that over 50 per cent. are purely tenant farmers, while there are, in addition, a large number of people who own only a small portion of the land which they cultivate.

The hard lot of the farmer and the lack of good prospects have resulted in the movement on a large scale of the younger generation from the country to the town, where, however, the majority are caught in the toils of the factory system, and as unskilled labourers fare even worse.

Here as elsewhere the ubiquitous Government has succeeded in mitigating to a certain extent the unfortunate position of the agriculturist. In addition to the numerous experimental stations and agricultural schools which have done so much to improve the methods of the farmers, the local Hypothec Banks have advanced money whereby the tenant farmers may purchase the land which they cultivate, and more particularly procure the necessary machinery and fertilizers wherewith to rejuvenate the soil. In the old days night soil was the only manure used, and it is still the most popular. Gradually, as the Government insisted more and more upon the introduction of scientific compounds, many spurious fertilizers were placed upon the market, whereupon the Bureaucracy ordained that all those who manufacture or deal in such articles must first obtain a licence, submit samples of their goods to the proper officials for inspection, and also guarantee that the alleged composition of their fertilizers is true. Campaigns were inaugurated which aimed at the destruction and prevention of injurious insects and blights. Finally, under Government auspices, farmers' guilds were established, which brought about mutual aid, the development of scientific agriculture, common

purchase, and credit. Eventually membership in these guilds was made compulsory on all farmers.

As regards the crops we find the principal product to be rice, which with fish constitutes the staple article of Japanese diet. Its importance is equal to all the other products combined. In addition to its use as a food, it is also made into an intoxicating beverage, *saké*. *Saké*, or rice wine, has the taste and colour of Sauterne, though it is much more alcoholic. Of recent years beer has greatly grown in popularity, though wine and spirits are drunk chiefly among those who attempt to imitate the West. While there is remarkably little drunkenness (except at New Year), so large is the consumption of *saké* and beer and so heavy is the excise tax that it has now come to be the greatest single item of revenue. The total area of land under rice cultivation has increased some 80 per cent., and is believed by many to have reached its maximum.

Rice requires a great deal of water, and therefore cannot be grown so well on the upland fields, where irrigation is difficult. Of recent years the total production has been something like 50,000,000 *koku* per annum,* a *koku* being 4·96005 bushels. On the upland fields, and as alternate crops on the lowland fields, we find *mugi*, beans, millet, and potatoes. *Mugi* includes barley, wheat, and rye, the total production of the three together being over 20,000,000 *koku* a year.

* All the figures are given in round numbers for the sake of convenience. The exact statistics are to be found in the *Financial and Economic Annual*, issued by the Government of Japan.

Beans are divided into the ordinary red bean, and the soya-bean, of which so much has been heard of late and which can be used in a thousand and one different ways. Both together are produced at the rate of some four or five million *koku* a year. Of millet, which includes ordinary millet, Italian millet, sorghum, and buckwheat, there are some 4,000,000 *koku* annually.

Of recent years potatoes have largely increased in quantity and improved in quality, the sweet potato with over 1,000,000,000 *kwan* (a *kwan* equalling 8·26 lb. avoirdupois), outnumbering the ordinary or Irish potato, with only 280,000,000 *kwan* a year. Potatoes, however, are chiefly grown in the south and are generally despised, being considered the food for students and the poorer classes—the *yaki-imo* or fried-potato stalls corresponding to the fried-fish shops of Whitechapel. For this reason, while most parts of Japan know the sweet potato as the *Satsuma imo* or the *imo* (potato) of Satsuma, the Satsuma people themselves, indignant at the insult, insist on terming them the *Kara imo*, or Chinese potatoes.

Among the minor agricultural products there are rape-seed and cotton (both of them failing industries, for, though Japan's textile industries have developed enormously, her raw cotton and wool she must get from abroad), hemp, indigo, sugar-cane, tea, wax, and tobacco. The cotton output has fallen from over 12,000,000 *kwan* in 1894 to under 800,000 *kwan* in 1917, even though her cotton textile industry has increased phenomenally. Tobacco is cultivated in most parts of the Empire, but as it is a Government

monopoly it must be sold at certain fixed prices to the monopoly bureau. In Formosa the Government has control of the camphor industry, which in turn has almost a monopoly of the world's trade in that article, while much else has been done in that island to develop the sugar-cane production, often at the expense of the native Chinese farmers.

2. Forestry

After agriculture comes forestry, which in Japan occupies a very important place, as over one-half of the total area of the land is covered with trees. The forests are divided into State-owned forests, those owned by the Imperial Household Department, and those in the hands of private bodies, which, however, include temples, shrines, local governments, and other bodies of a semi-public nature. Out of a total of 15,000,000 *cho* of taxable land (a *cho* being 2·44064 acres) over one-half is forest, while forests and moors of all sorts (including those untaxed) constitute some 22,000,000 *cho*. Until the time of the Restoration these were very strictly preserved and very little used. The abrogation of the old laws in 1868 was followed by a period of indiscriminate felling of trees to supply the demands for wood of the newly instituted industries, which required timber for houses, ships, masts, increased fuel, telegraph poles, and railway sleepers.

In the general confusion following the turning over of the land registers and land ownership from the Daimyo to the central Government, there was no

certain knowledge as to whether certain forest rightfully belonged to the State or to private individuals. Being obviously less pressing than other matters, the Bureaucracy allowed forestry to remain in this state for a number of years, but eventually steps were taken to reorganize the wooded section of the country with the same thoroughness and efficiency as the unwooded. In the various forestry regulations which began to appear during the early years of the twentieth century it was natural that more especial emphasis was laid upon the national and Imperial forests, in the trust that private owners would follow the Government's example.

The various surveys having accurately determined the exact area of each variety of forest, and having founded a highly organized forestry bureau with branches all over the country, the Government next proceeded by means of forestry schools to train men to supervise the rejuvenation of the woods. Elaborate ordinances were made, encouraging the planting under scientific control of many new trees and the elimination of old and unsuitable ones. The growth of the forests by natural regeneration having been prohibited, lists were made of those trees which were to be planted from seeds and those to be grown from shoots. An enumeration having been made of all the species of trees in the country, experts were set to work to find out which sort were of use, and in what proportion, and the planting of trees has been conducted in accordance with the results of this research.

Several nursery beds and arboricultural experiment stations were opened so that the new methods might be checked. Forest roads and river transport routes were constructed, and markets established to standardize the method of utilization of produce. Minute tables of forest rotation were formulated, which regulated at what period in its existence each tree was to be felled and by what it should be replaced, the suitability of soil in different districts being taken into account, and in all other respects an attempt made to found Japanese forestry on a scientific and economic basis, equal in all respects to that found in Occidental countries. Saxony was taken as the model, the exactitude of its methods appealing to the Japanese mind. Saw mills were erected, and the timber cut into a certain number of standardized sizes. Even the minor products were carefully considered and utilized. Litters, grasses, and herbage in the forest undergrowth are used as fuel or manure, mushrooms for consumption, seeds and acorns for oil, bark for dyeing and tanning, and forest stones for various public works. As regards the main forest products, we find that the trees are disposed of in the following ways. The trunks of all the suitable trees, being sawn into the required shapes, are turned over to the carpenter, builder, joiner, turner, cooper, bamboo-ware maker, etc. The branches of these and the trunks of all others are converted into charcoal, still the staple Japanese fuel, or into match-sticks or into pulp for paper, Japan now having become one of the great world competitors in

the match and paper trade, while, of course, odds and ends are used for firewood.

Much of the work in the national forests is of a permanent nature or capital investment, the fruit of which will not be evident for many years to come, but already the income from these forests alone (not counting areas owned by the Imperial Household, or by private persons) has risen from some 8,000,000 *yen* in 1908 to 12,000,000 *yen* in 1917, and will in the near future probably reach a much larger sum.

3. Fisheries

From forestry we pass to the fisheries, or the utilization and development of the marine products, which with agriculture and sericulture ranks as one of the chief industries of Japan. For hundreds of years, the eating of flesh having been almost unknown, fish played an overwhelming part in the national diet. Just as with the farmers, however, the fisher's lot has been and is no easy one. He must be content with incredibly small returns ; the curing business is still in its infancy ; modern methods of fishing are being but slowly adopted, there is lack of capital wherewith to institute suitable reforms ; the native boats are in many cases unseaworthy, and being more for rowing than for sailing they are useless for anything more than a few miles from the coast, and cannot sail against the wind. The consequences of the continued use of the same beds for centuries is that many have become largely

sterile, and many species of fish have become almost entirely extinct.

In view of this critical state, it is not strange to find the Government taking active steps to reorganize the industry, though the measures were considerably delayed compared with those put into operation in connection with agriculture and commerce. The early monopoly by a small group of men of certain waters was abolished, and except for portions immediately off the shore (which belong to the adjacent village) the seas are open to all, or at least to all Japanese subjects. Fishery associations were formed under Government auspices to improve conditions. Fishery schools were established to train the rising generation in scientific methods, and grants were made to aid in the construction of more suitable boats and implements. Finally, by a process of natural selection, large numbers of those who gain their living by the sea have been compelled to go into other trades, so that at present the fishing industry gives employment, either partial or whole time, to only one and a half or two million people.

In many cases, through financial pressure, the fishermen fell into the clutches of moneylenders, who charged them extortionate rates of interest, the season's catch being often mortgaged in advance. The Government has already made some efforts to arrange for suitable credits to stop this abuse and to allow of capital to be secured in order to bring about improvements. That considerable advance has been

made may be seen from the fact that in 1900 the total value of the fish caught was only some 56,000,000 *yen*, while in 1916 it had increased to 102,000,000 *yen*. The manufactured fish products increased in the same period from 32,000,000 *yen* to 66,000,000 *yen*.

At Sagami there is a Marine Biological Station, which has conducted some extremely valuable researches along its own lines, and has drawn up a list of some 400 species of fish to be found in native waters which are useful either as food or manure or as providing material (such as fish oil) for various industries. The important varieties, however, are much fewer in number and may be classified under the heads of fish, shell-fish, seaweeds, and marine animals. The first includes herring, sardines, and anchovies, bonito, *Tai* (or sea bream), *sawara*, tunny, yellow tail, mackerel, cod, salmon, and sea trout. The place and method of catching each sort varies considerably.

With regard to the fish proper, the ocean currents mentioned in the Introduction have an enormous effect upon the locality, a short distance often completely changing the nature of the fish caught. Various forms of nets are the most common mode of fishing.

Under the head of sea shells, or molluscs, come the ear shells, lobsters, and prawns, as well as the cuttle-fish, or squids, which form popular articles of diet. There are also some six varieties of seaweed which are edible, another is used for making paste, while there is still another from which iodine is extracted. Marine animals of commercial importance are chiefly whales,

caught for blubber, and seals and otters. In recent years successful experiments have been carried out in aquaculture, or the rearing of fish in specially provided tanks and ponds. In addition to many varieties of fish proper thus cultivated, there are large numbers of oysters both for eating purposes and for culture pearls.

Most of the marine produce is consumed at home. In fact a certain amount in addition is imported from abroad. Gradually, however, in response to Governmental action, the curing process has been sufficiently developed to permit of an export business on a large scale, and in recent years the tinning industry, especially with regard to salmon and sardines, has been put in such a position that it is able to compete in the world's markets.

Mention should also be made of the salt industry, which is a somewhat unpopular Government monopoly. There being no rock salt or salt mines, salt is procured by boiling down sea water and purifying the saline sediment. There are numerous beds in Formosa and also along the Inland Sea, all of which are forced to sell their produce at a fixed price to the monopoly bureau.

4. Stock-Breeding

Of somewhat less importance at the present time, but with immense and gradually utilized possibilities, is the stock-breeding industry. Prior to the Restoration it was shockingly neglected, and with disastrous consequences. We find by early references to them

in the historical annals that, though not indigenous to Japan, both cows and horses must have been brought over from the continent at a very early date, but for many reasons never attained any great quantity or quality.

Custom and religious prejudice prohibited the use of animal food (fish being allowed to the laymen), and even cattle were used solely as beasts of burden, milk and butter being but little known, and then regarded purely as medicines. Inattention and the want of knowledge of even the elements of stock-breeding caused the original stock sadly to degenerate, nor was the occasional importation of small numbers of foreign breeds (in later days from Europe) sufficient to remedy this evil.

The manifest inferiority of the native varieties caused thoughtful minds much anxiety, and, after the reopening of the country to foreign intercourse as a result of the Perry expedition, the Shogunate made one or two half-hearted efforts to establish a model stud. Even the far more active and efficient Imperial Government after its accession to power was unable to make much progress along this line for some time, and its early attempts proved abortive. In 1900, however, effective measures were taken, and breeding farms, studs, and depots were opened.

These did and do very valuable work. They have imported live stock on a scale which would be impossible for private firms. Elaborate experiments have been conducted with regard to the varieties of cattle

and horses which are best suited to the country, and just how far it is possible to mix them with native stock. The Russo-Japanese War having proved the value of their work, the scheme was considerably amplified in 1906, since which time they have had an especially marked influence upon the welfare of the national stock-breeding industry.

They have taught the people the necessity of proper breeding and selection; they have compelled the practice of castration of animals used for work, breeding being carried out more and more by special stallions purchased for the purpose from abroad; while much work has also been accomplished with regard to proper pasturage and the treatment of animals. The Japanese are still far from the desired goal, but the progress made has been most encouraging.

The other and minor sorts of animals to be found in any number in Japan are sheep and swine. Both are very recent arrivals, there being no sheep in the country until 1817, about which time pigs were also for the first time brought over. Both have been more or less neglected by the Government, and consequently their rearing has languished, though of recent years the industry has undergone considerable spontaneous development. Considering the enormous size of the Japanese woollen textile industry, the scarcity of sheep is surprising, and it is probable that more attention will be paid to it in the future, though the country can ill afford the pasture land.

The Chinese have always been great pork-eaters,

and it is in such countries as Formosa and the Loochoo Islands, which have had an historical connection with China, that swine still flourish, though the Satsuma people have their share of the industry, and the gradual increase in pork-eating and consequently ham-curing and timing has caused the rearing of swine in other parts of the country, in recent years, to increase.

At the present time the total number of cattle in Japan is about 1,300,000 ; horses, 1,500,000 ; sheep, 3,370 ; goats, 109,353 ; swine, 300,000.

Much attention to animal diseases has been paid by the Government, and it has organized several successful campaigns to eliminate them. On the whole veterinary science is being rapidly developed. It should be noted, however, that the Japanese are not particularly fond of animals, and that consequently much remains to be done in the way of education of the populace with regard to the proper treatment of their stock.

In this connection two other features deserve brief notice. These are poultry and bees. Both are very ancient industries, though neither can claim to be in a very advanced or properly developed state. Poultry consists chiefly of hens : ducks, geese, and turkeys come next, but at a great distance behind. Shortly after the Restoration the Government devoted some time and attention to the development of artificial incubation, and imported a number of European birds. The experiment was only too successful. Public interest was excited to such an extent that speculation

became rife, and the inevitable collapse followed. Since this period the Bureaucracy seems to have more or less neglected the subject, but it has gradually re-established itself on a firmer basis, and much improvement has taken place. It has been more of quality than of quantity, however, for the Japanese have always been fond of eggs, or sufficiently so to cause a large number of fowls to be kept. Bee-keeping has been in an even more primitive condition, and though a number of hives are to be found in several parts of the country, both in the keeping of bees and the refining of the honey little care has been exercised.

5. Sericulture

A much larger part in the national life is played by sericulture, Japanese silk being known all over the world. The rearing of the silkworms and the manufacture of silk are very ancient in Japan, having been introduced from China at a very early date. With the various vicissitudes which the industry underwent we are not concerned, for in the modern sense it became of international importance only after 1859, when silk, cocoons, and silkworm-egg cards began to be exported from the country in large quantities. One reason for this sudden development was that at this time France and Italy were suffering from the terrible silkworm disease which almost destroyed the sericultural industry in those countries. The Japanese market was not equal to the demand. The moral standard of the

native exporters was by no means high, and owing to the trashy articles which they sent abroad the Japanese silk trade was threatened with destruction, though in many cases the inferiority of the silks was due to ignorance of the proper methods of culture and treatment.

At this moment the Government stepped in. A national silk-conditioning institute was established, at which the silk destined for export was carefully examined and inferior qualities rejected. Experts were sent abroad to study European methods of treatment, and on their return the Government saw that their consequent advice was carried out. A national sericultural institute, with local branches everywhere, was founded, to investigate all the problems which faced the industry, and to suppress the silkworm epidemic which was beginning to show itself. Attached to this was a school where men were trained in scientific methods, while the compulsory establishment of silk-growers' guilds appreciably assisted the application of the new methods. All silkworm eggs are inspected by experts and passed before they are permitted to be sold or used. Finally, the old hand-reeling of silk having been shown to be inferior, the Government established a model filature factory, the success of which having been demonstrated was rapidly copied by private investors.

Largely as a result of these steps the silk industry has been placed upon a very firm basis. In 1893 the cocoon crop was only some 1,600,000 *yen*. In 1917

it was over 6,300,000 *yen*. In 1893 the amount of raw silk exported was only worth some 28,000,000 *yen*. In 1917 it was over 350,000,000, and with the other silk yarns was over 450,000,000. With these figures in view one cannot deny the extraordinary efficiency of Japan's Bureaucratic stimulus and regulation, however much individualistic effort may be worth in other nations.

As regards the Japanese methods of sericulture, we find that it is essentially a family and subsidiary industry, experiments on a large scale having proved uniformly unsatisfactory. Accordingly most farmers have a special room in which they keep the silkworms, attending to them in their spare time and with the assistance of the members of their family. In many cases no attempt is made at heating of the silkworm culture room, but some have adopted various artificial devices, while the majority are learning to combine the artificial and natural methods. The silk filatures are now carried on as separate and specialized industries, the old method of hand-reeling being displaced either by frame-reeling or by machines. In recent years several silk textile factories have been started. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the future of Japanese silk is a bright one.

6. Mining

Everyone acquainted with the enormous part which coal and iron play in modern industrial life must realize the importance of mining. Japan is not particularly

rich in mineral resources, compared with other countries, though in copper, sulphur, and to a certain extent coal, she is fairly well supplied; iron, gold, silver, and petroleum are the other chief ores. Though the history of mining goes back for many centuries, it is only after the Restoration that proper methods of development were adopted.

In this exploitation of the mines, even more than in the other industries, the Government has been especially concerned. At first almost all of the mines were nationalized, and foreign experts were engaged to introduce new methods and to instruct native assistants, though, lest aliens should acquire control of her mineral resources, foreigners were forbidden either to own or operate the mines. The Government having proved the enormous possibilities of mining, private companies were formed, generally subsidized by the semi-official banks. They engaged in the industry first by the development of hitherto unexploited fields, and later by the purchase of the Government's mines. The earlier mining laws of 1875 having been outgrown, in 1900 the present regulations were brought into effect. Under their stimulus enormous progress has been made.

Though her poverty in iron has caused Japan to monopolize most of the iron ore for her military purposes, most of the mines have now passed nominally into private ownership, though the Government still maintains a firm and close control. Mining rights are mere Government concessions, which may at any time be

revoked by the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. All plans for shafts, buildings, operations, or local regulations must be passed by him, while there are special mining inspectors and mining police to see that the Government's instructions are obeyed.

As a result of these drastic measures the whole industry has now been placed on a thoroughly scientific basis, and before long the Japanese mines will be able to stand comparison with their best European rivals. Already the progress made is surprising, for, leaving out the earlier years of reorganization, when the output was naturally small, we find that in 1908 the output of gold was 891,000 *momme* (a *momme* being 2·41 dwt.) and in 1917 it was 1,877,000. For the same periods silver was 31,000,000 *momme*, and 58,000,000; copper was 67,000,000 *kin* (a *kin* being 1·607 lb. troy), and 180,000,000; steel, 695,000 *kwan* (a *kwan* being, it will be remembered, 10·047 lb. troy), and 98,672,000; coal, 14,000,000 metric tons, and 26,000,000; sulphur, 55,000,000 *kin*, and 196,000,000; with a like increase in the other products; making a total value of the 1908 output some 105,000,000 *yen*, compared with the 442,000,000 *yen* of 1917.

With most metals Japan will eventually be more or less independent, but with the most important of all, coal and iron, her future is not so bright. She has coal enough to supply her industries for the present, and she is rapidly introducing hydro-electricity, for which her many mountainous and swift rivers, generally

unnavigable, make her particularly fitted; but even so the constant expansion of her manufactures makes her resources look puny, and she views with longing eyes the coal-fields of China. In iron she is still more unfortunate, for already she is forced to import most of the steel she requires for industrial purposes. As China is rich in undeveloped iron as well as coal, it is no wonder that we hear of jingoistic statesmen urging that China be given the fate of Korea, or that at any rate (and this, at least, is the policy of the present ministry) Japan inaugurate an Oriental Monroe doctrine which will give her a "free hand" to control the industries of China.

CHAPTER XVII

MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE

1. Internal Development. 2. Foreign Trade.

1. Internal Development

We have seen how Japan has developed her primary industries, or, let us say, her raw materials. We have seen how she has established her financial organs so as to be able to found industries capable of utilizing her raw materials, and finally how she arranged for the education of men who could carry on the operations of these concerns.

With such an assured background and foundation the extraordinary success of her manufactures and commerce becomes comprehensible. As in the other cases, the Government took a leading part in their development. The measures which they adopted were essentially the same as those employed in the other industries. Systematic attempts were made to encourage the use of machinery, thorough organization, and scientific methods. National laboratories were established and experts aided in research as to the best means to be devised, and by the foundation of model factories the Bureaucrats saw that the results were

properly utilized. These, when in running order, were gradually disposed of to specially organized private enterprises.

Exhibitions were held; guilds of manufacturers formed, to which membership was made compulsory among the persons concerned; technical associations were established, such as the Engineering Society, Weaving Society, etc., which materially aided the development of their respective industries; a system of patents and trade marks formulated; struggling companies subsidized; promising experts sent abroad for further study; and in general every conceivable impetus given which might aid in economic development. Above all, the semi-official banks were there to provide capital and to see that none but properly organized companies received it. In this way the frittering away of energy, or over-competition in some particular field, was stopped.

Companies are of three sorts: joint-stock companies, limited liability partnerships, and unlimited liability partnerships. In 1908 there were but some 10,000 such companies of all sorts; in 1917 there were 18,000. The number of joint-stock companies and limited liability partnerships has always been about the same (at the present time about 7,500 each), but the former have a far larger capital, some 2,000,000,000 *yen*, as opposed to only 144,000,000. Of the unlimited liability partnerships there are little more than 3,000, but with a paid-up capital of about 199,000,000 *yen*.

These 18,000 companies—or, to be exact, 18,219—are divided in the following way: 485 are engaged in agriculture, 5,942 in industry, 10,551 in commerce, and 1,241 in transportation enterprises. Though the commercial companies are almost double those concerned with manufacturing, the capital invested in each is about the same—something over 1,000,000,000.

Practically all the factories in Japan may be divided into the following six classes: Textile factories, machine and iron factories, chemical factories, food and drink factories, miscellaneous factories, and special factories. It is outside our scope to give a full list of the enterprises which have grown up in Japan in recent years; but it may be of interest to note that the first class, or textile factories, includes all branches of wool, silk, cotton, and hemp, both in their earlier and intermediate stages, and also in the form of finished articles of clothing. Machine and iron factories include the manufacture of tools, machines, ships, and general metal-ware; chemical factories, still more inclusive, provide for pottery, paper, lacquer-ware, leather, explosives, oils, medicines, soap and candles, dyes, paints, and fertilizers. Food and drink factories prepare *saké* (rice wine), beer, sugar, tea, rice, flour, confectionery, and canned, tinned, and bottled goods for the market. Miscellaneous factories are concerned with the various odds and ends, such as printing and woodwork; while special factories consist of electrical and gas industries, and also of metal refineries.

Into details of output and the extraordinary expan-

sion thereof we need not go: any book of statistics will give them; but we should observe that the war has had an enormously stimulating effect upon all aspects of Japanese industry, while she has secured almost a monopoly of certain branches of Oriental commerce.

What the future will bring cannot, of course, be foretold. Owing to their low social position in the past, and also perhaps to certain national peculiarities, the Japanese merchants as a class have not always had an enviable reputation. Many goods have not come up to sample, many contracts have been unjustifiably broken, and confidence thereby largely lost. On the other hand, steps have been taken to remedy this; Japanese labour is cheap, and the authorities are fully alive to the necessity of the education of skilled labour to the latest machinery and to improved methods. In many ways the Japanese merchant and manufacturer may be said to be more progressive than his British rival, and certainly more alive to the tricks of the trade, so that we may confidently expect serious economic competition between East and West.

2. Foreign Trade

Turning for a moment to Japan's foreign commerce from the historical point of view, we see that the present triumphant conditions were only arrived at by overcoming many formidable obstacles, chief amongst which were—first, tariff reform, and, second, the monopoly of foreign trade by the European merchant.

Regarding the first point, or the vexatious tariff problem, it may be remembered that in 1866 Japan signed a treaty with the principal Occidental nations whereby the rate of all import and export duties was fixed on the basis of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. This provision soon became extraordinarily unpopular in Japan. It was supposed to be derogatory to her dignity and position as an independent Power; from the financial point of view it was a great loss, for at this period the money which might have resulted from the customs was of the utmost importance to the almost bankrupt Government. Finally, by this means Japan was unable to protect her infant industries from foreign competition, as was the case with America and Germany.

For years treaty revision was the chief object of Japan's foreign policy, and after continual struggle, in the late nineties, one by one the foreign Powers relented, and, at the time when extra-territoriality was abolished, the customs provisions were considerably modified. As yet it was only a compromise, however, for, though Japan secured the right to augment the tariff on many articles, certain things were to be duty free, and the augmentation was never to go beyond a certain figure. This state of affairs was still looked upon as unsatisfactory by Japan, and as a result of much further agitation she at length secured the right to regulate her own customs dues as she pleased.

The other point was in some ways less difficult but was of a more delicate nature, and, in remedying it,

there was bound to arise a good deal of ill-feeling. European and American merchants settling in the treaty ports had obtained almost a monopoly of the import and export trade. The Japanese authorities felt that if Japan were to acquire the status of a first-class Power this state of affairs must end. Accordingly the Government enormously subsidized and aided such firms as the Mitsui Company, which became almost semi-official organs. By means of underbidding for exports and overbidding for imports these concerns were gradually able to secure for themselves much of the trade which had been previously in the hands of the foreigner.

Their efforts were especially helped by the very efficient consular service which was established abroad, as well as special commercial agents in the various foreign countries who were able to get into direct touch with the principal European buyers and sellers and thus cut out the Occidental middlemen.

Occasionally less honourable means were adopted. In a certain case, the Japanese steamers having obtained a monopoly of marine transportation, the Mitsui Company in Formosa, desirous of securing complete control of the valuable Oolong tea industry in that island, arranged that at one stroke the Japanese steamers refuse to carry the cargoes of tea of the European merchants, giving sole transportation to their Japanese rival. It was only after a severe note had come from the Department of State at Washington that the Japanese Government saw that this arrange-

ment was rescinded. Again, in other cases, railway freights were so planned as to give to Japanese merchants an unfair advantage. However just or unjust the methods adopted, the fact remains that Japan has succeeded in her design. There are still a number of foreign firms in Japan, but their number is steadily dwindling, and those which remain find it increasingly difficult to carry on their business.

Having thus acquired control of her foreign trade Japan at once set about expanding it. The methods employed were such as might have been expected from a country so rigidly controlled by the Government. Chambers of commerce and industrial guilds were established under the management and inspection of the Bureaucracy. A Higher Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, a semi-Governmental department of whose members one-fourth are officials and three-fourths influential business men, has charge of measures for promoting foreign trade. Recently its activities have been enlarged to include supervision of the commerce and industry of the nation as a whole.

The autocracy then proceeded to send, either directly or through these media, a number of commissioners to foreign countries to investigate the state of the markets abroad and to inquire as to the best means of providing for them. Commercial agents, young men for the most part, have their travelling expenses paid to America or Europe, where they enter private firms in some subordinate capacity. They thus obtain a knowledge of the best methods to be employed,

and in addition receive a practical training in their respective specialities. They are always under the control of the local embassy or consulate, and are required to send a report to the home Government at regular intervals.

Much has also been accomplished by the inauguration of commercial museums, both at home and abroad. In the principal cities of Japan one may see the chief products of the Empire. These inspire intercommunal trade, while a selected list of articles from abroad guide the importer as to the best things to purchase.

The foreign commercial museums are those connected with and under the control of the various Japanese consulates, acting as the medium for the conclusion of transactions between Japanese and foreign merchants and manufacturers.

Another very important item of any Government's policy is the experimental production of many commercial commodities by means of a number of laboratory-factories and workshops, as well as in the more important technical schools. These provide the manufacturers with particulars of articles most suited for wholesale production, and have resulted in much progress and expansion.

Finally, the Industrial Reports issued by the Department of Commerce and Agriculture deal with practically all the important articles of manufacture, giving statements and statistics as to available markets, estimates of the capital necessary to start a suitable

factory, and suggestions as to the most efficient manner of operating those already in existence.

These activities have not yet had time to mature fully, but even so the growth of Japan's foreign trade as shown by the official statistics is little short of miraculous. In 1882 the total value of the imports was 29,446,594 *yen*. In 1917 it had grown to 1,035,811,107, while for the same years the exports were respectively 37,721,751 and 1,603,005,048 *yen*. The outlook for the future is even more promising.

Japan's industry has been an experiment in co-ordination as opposed to competition, in Government leadership as opposed to Government regulation, in scientific management as opposed to rule-of-thumb management; and though hampered by many personal and moral failings on the part of the Japanese merchants, it cannot be gainsaid that the experiment has proved a success.

CONCLUSION

THE CULTURE OF JAPAN

prosperous stage. The two most successful, the *Asahi* and *Mainichi,* are in Osaka, the Japanese Manchester. Both have Tokyo editions. Equally influential are the *Kokumin,* which is nationalistic and generally advocates the cause of the Bureaucracy, the *Jiji,* for the educated classes, and the *Yomi-uri* and the *Yamato,* both highly sensational and "yellow."

CHAPTER XVIII

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

WE have examined the political, military, and industrial phases of Modern Japan; but before our task can be said to have ended we must take into consideration something of what might be called the culture of the country and its status in the world's civilization.

In this respect the language and literature of a nation occupy no unimportant place. In Japan we find, as far as language is concerned, a most extraordinary complexity, for all of the letters and scholarly words of her tongue are derived from China. Let us suppose that the Anglo-Saxons, instead of borrowing their alphabet from Rome, instead of modelling their literature on the Greek and Latin authors, incorporating many of their words, were to have taken their culture from China, to have looked to Chinese stylists as models on which to base their own works, have introduced into their vocabulary Chinese words, horribly mispronounced, and we have an idea of the relationship between Chinese and Japanese.

The Chinese and Japanese tongues are, in their essence, almost as far apart as Chinese and English, certainly far more different than Anglo-Saxon and Latin, for the latter are both Aryan languages, while

there is not even racial affinity between the Chinese and Japanese. As we have already had occasion to see, Japanese, like English, is polysyllabic, while Chinese is monosyllabic. Japanese, like Anglo-Saxon (and unlike modern English), is highly inflected. In Chinese there is no tense, no number, no case, and even no distinction between a verb and a noun. Japanese, like many European tongues, has a highly complex syntax, a single sentence being of interminable length. Chinese is extremely terse, pithy, and to the point.

Yet when the Japanese first came into contact with their Celestial neighbours they had no letters, no art, no learning, and no culture. They looked with envy upon the philosophers, the poets, the essayists, the historians of China, and for the Japanese to admire and to envy is to imitate. But how was this to be done? As all the world knows, the Chinese have no alphabet, or letters based on sounds irrespective of meaning, for their ideographs are almost little pictures or conventionalized symbols of the object to be explained. Each one of these ideographs, however, has a sound to which it corresponds, for though in place of the letters *s*, *u*, and *n*, we were to draw a circle (O) to describe the solar ball, it could still be pronounced "sun."

Now the problem which confronted the Japanese was this: Were they to adopt the sound of the Chinese characters or the meaning? Thus, for example (to give a modern instance), there is a Japanese word

michi (pronounced *meechee*), which means "road." There is a Chinese ideograph which has exactly this significance, but which was pronounced *tao* (to the Japanese ears *do*) ; but there is also a Chinese character pronounced *mi,* and another *chi* (at least as the Japanese imitated the Chinese sounds), though they are to be rendered "beautiful" and "wisdom" respectively. Ignoring the sound, were they to write the ideograph *do* for *michi,* or, ignoring the sense, were they to write *mi-chi*? At first they chose the latter alternative, and the *Kojiki,* one of the oldest Japanese books, is written with characters whose meaning is senseless and which must be taken merely at their phonetic value. Thus *tani* (valley) and *chikaku* (near) are written *ta* (many), *ni* (you or this) ; and *chi* (wisdom), *ka* (ought), *ku* (long time).

Needless to say, this method proved extremely cumbrous and was soon changed for the other. The picture sign (pronounced *koku*) was used for *tani,* or "valley," and the sign (*to*) for *chikaku,* or "near." This, however, led to further difficulty. In writing Japanese with Chinese ideographs were they to use Chinese grammar and syntax or Japanese? This problem was not so easily solved. Many scholars took to writing in pure Chinese, and this fashion prevailed among the learned down to the Restoration, just as in Europe philosophers and scientists wrote in Latin rather than in their native tongue. For the ordinary purposes of life, on the other hand, such a method could not suffice, and authors learned to transpose the

characters to suit Japanese construction, just as though, adopting many Greek and Latin words, we were to place them in a sentence in accordance with idiomatic use.

There was still another matter to be considered before the Chinese ideographs could be used for easy and colloquial purposes. Chinese had no way of indicating tense or case. The ideograph for "walk" might be past, present, or future. It might indicate the act of walking. For so highly inflected a language as Japanese this led to a great deal of trouble. Eventually a solution was found by inventing, or rather by developing from conventional ideographs, a number of purely phonetic letters, which, like our own alphabet, could be used to write the whole language, but which in practice were utilized only for expressing tense and case endings, interjections, and so on, the main body of the word being still written in the sign pictures.

Like all Oriental languages, however, there is a great difference between the spoken and the written languages, both as regards vocabulary and grammar. Of this we know little or nothing in the West, save, perhaps, that the English of Dr. Samuel Johnson's writings and as ordinarily spoken gives some faint indication of the difference. Just as the written English contains an unusually large proportion of words of Latin origin, so does a large part of the vocabulary of written Japanese trace itself back to the richer Chinese, quite apart from the use of the Chinese ideographs, while the syntax and grammar of the written language

are far more complex and cumbrous than in the colloquial.

As a matter of fact, as at present constituted, instead of only two Japanese languages (the written and the spoken) there may be said to be at least four. These are—first, the colloquial dialect, the language of ordinary intercourse, of which roughly one-third of the words are of Chinese and two-thirds of native origin. Second, the epistolary style, in which letters and post-cards are written, and which is more or less the spoken language of several centuries ago. Third, the written language, the vocabulary of which is about two-thirds Chinese and one-third Japanese (apart from particles, post-positions, etc.), though, like the two preceding styles, it has a purely Japanese grammar. In this the newspapers, magazines, and books are written. Last there is the classical Japanese, which is nothing more than classical Chinese, the vocabulary and grammar being pure Chinese, making no use of the phonetic letters save, perhaps, an occasional minute sign to the right to serve as a commentary on the tense, etc. It is more or less as if we spoke ordinary English, wrote our letters in the language of Chaucer, our books in glorified Johnsonese, and our serious works in Latin.

In spite of this complexity, however, we find in Japanese a remarkably rich literature. It is necessary to pass over the pre-Restoration works, though it includes such classics as the two historical annals, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi,* together with all the innumerable histories modelled on them; the *Manyoshu* and

the *Kokinshu,* meaning respectively the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" and the "Collection Ancient and Modern," which are two famous poetical anthologies; such delightful books as the Tosa Diary, the Leaves of Idleness (*Tsuredzuregusa*), and the *Makurano zoshi,* all scrap-books of essays, anecdotes, tales, and impressions; such stories as the three *Kagami,* or Mirrors; the romances *Genjimonogatari* and the *Taiheiki,* which may be called early attempts at historical novels; to say nothing of the wonderful Tokugawa literature.

At the period of the Restoration all aspects of Japanese culture suffered a severe shock. For several years the creation of new works on the old lines was stopped, and the rising set of *littérateurs* were not sufficiently well acquainted with European classics to attempt to imitate them. For some time men who would otherwise have been engaged in original work gave themselves up to translation, and in a remarkably short time most of the famous books of the West found themselves in Japanese dress and were devoured by the new generation of college students.

Large numbers of enthusiasts preferred to wade through the originals. In the many second-hand book-stalls of the capital one will find well-thumbed and frequently annotated copies of Shakespeare, Milton, Macaulay, Keats, Yeats, Bernard Shaw, Byron, Oscar Wilde, and Dickens, to mention the extraordinary collection of English favourites. Amongst the American writers Washington Irving, Emerson,

and Poe have many readers, while of more recent years the Continental authors have eclipsed all others in popularity. Russian literature has had an especial vogue, the Japanese taking peculiar delight in the sense of doom and pessimism of Turgenev, Dostoieffsky, and Tolstoy, though the initiated prefer Andriev, Gorky, Chekov, and Gogol. For the rest, Ibsen, d'Annunzio, and Maeterlinck are the best known.

It will be seen from this that the modern Japanese literary set are very much *au fait* with the latest works of Europe (the Greek and Latin authors have been sadly neglected). It may even be said that they play a more important part, certainly in the student world, than in the original countries of production.

It was not long before this absorption of Western material began to have its effect upon Japanese writers. In contrast to the romantic improbabilism of the earlier novelists, a group of realists, or rather æsthetic realists, arose which affected to provide an acute analysis of the psychological and social conditions of modern life. Modelled somewhat along French lines were the works of Koyo Ozaki, such as *The Golden Hag* and *The Confessions of Two Buddhist Nuns*. So also were Yamada's *Butterfly* and *The Whitehaired Youth*.

Slightly more tinged with hope and moral earnestness in the period of expansion after the Chino-Japanese War were the *Family Novels*, a series of excellent but not over-well executed works. Of a similar character, but somewhat more sentimental than usual, was Tokutomi's *Nightingale*, which was trans-

lated into English under the name of the heroine, Namiko.

At about this time pessimism began to spring up. The younger men were filled either with a blasé boredom with life, or with morbid depression. In such a mood realism *à la Russe* became fashionable. Slightly tinged with this spirit was Nakamura, who wrote many popular novels, amongst them *The Fig*; but more representative of the school was Hirotsu, with such works as the *Withering Chrysanthemum, The House of Kachiwa,* and the powerful *Double Suicide at Imado*. Hasegawa, for many years a journalist, also inspired a love of Russianesque literature, acquired while he was a special correspondent at Petrograd. With these must be included Kunikida and Tayama, the latter the author of *The Quilt* and *Life*.

Though this school has remained popular to the present day, it was not long before there was a certain amount of reaction. Novels with a less sombre note began to appear. Of a purely national type, inspired by the earlier Japanese writers, was Koda, whose books are written with a delicate finish, quaint turns of thought (taken in many cases from Buddhist writings), and considerable powers of imagination.

Meanwhile German influence had become more and more powerful in the State, and soon began to make itself felt in other spheres. In literature it was expressed by Mori, who translated Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and other notable Teuton writers, while his

original works breathe a freshness and vigour which had been lacking in many others. *The Dream, The Geisha,* and a work on the Russian war were among his best.

With a genius all his own was Soseki Natsume. His light touch of satire and playfulness have attracted a large following. *Wagahai wa Neko de Aru* ("I am a Cat") first brought his name into prominence, and was followed by a host of essays, stories, and conglomerate mixtures similar to such delightful books as W. J. Locke's *Beloved Vagabond.* Natsume was in England for a number of years, and his book of English impressions is not the least amusing of his writings.

Newspapers and magazines have had a phenomenal growth. There were none prior to the Restoration, but shortly after that momentous event various journalistic enterprises, not always successful, made their appearance. At present they are extremely popular, owing largely to compulsory education, which always results in the creation of a body of people incapable of serious reading or study but who desire scrappy information and a constant mixture of new sensations.

Magazines exist in all varieties and qualities. There are learned quarterlies, literary monthlies, critical fortnightlies, entertaining weeklies, organs for women, for students, for children. Among the serious ventures *Taiyo* ("The Sun"), the *Chuwo Koron* ("Central Review"), and the *Nippon oyobi Nipponjin* ("Japan and the Japanese") are notable.

Daily newspapers have reached a very advanced and

prosperous stage. The two most successful, the *Asahi* and *Mainichi,* are in Osaka, the Japanese Manchester. Both have Tokyo editions. Equally influential are the *Kokumin,* which is nationalistic and generally advocates the cause of the Bureaucracy, the *Jiji,* for the educated classes, and the *Yomi-uri* and the *Yamato,* both highly sensational and "yellow."

CHAPTER XIX

ART AND RELIGION

ASSOCIATED more with art than with literature (certainly as far as Japan is concerned) are poetry and drama. Both are expressions of the fundamental qualities of Japanese æstheticism, a quintessence of ideas in a casual example, of impressionism as opposed to realism.

The Japanese claim that Western art is photographic, that it aims at the reproduction of detail rather than with the expression of the essential spirit. They claim that a single broad sweep of the brush indicates the feeling of a landscape more than thousands of tiny strokes; that a single instance of concrete association renders an event more vivid than pages of general description.

A Wordsworth portraying an autumn evening would tell us in detail of the fulness of the moon, the quietness of the evening broken only by the rustling of the trees, the mirror-like surface of the lake, and the mysterious sounds of animal life. To a Japanese all this and more is summed up in the words "An old pond—the leap of a frog—the splash of water."

To them, as to certain Occidental critics, a long

poem is a contradistinction in terms. Poetry and art must be the compression of a whole philosophy of life into a sentence, or a splash of paint—the placid figure of the Buddha is considered of more value than eulogies on Eternity or the Everlasting Calm.

Accordingly, though a few of the earlier poems are of medium length and may tell a story or describe an event, at a later period, when a rigid convention and code of criticism had been established, poets were confined to a choice between a poem of seventeen and thirty-one syllables. Both were without rhyme and without stressed and unstressed syllables. A poem could never have more than one verse.

Since the Restoration various attempts have been made to create a new poetry based on Occidental models. The earlier efforts were largely translations from English writers, such as Scott, Tennyson, and Gray ; but later poets have toyed with original verses of considerable length and adorned with metre and rhyme. The result has not been altogether satisfactory, and it is probable that in the future a return will be made to the earlier national forms, though without the ultra-conventionality and rigidity which came into fashion in the later Tokugawa period.

In pre-Restoration days the drama was of two distinct varieties. The aristocratic *No*, evolved from sacred dances, extremely simple and conventional, with its chants, its chorus, its harping upon one theme, its small number of actors, and the lack of scenery and stage effects, reminding us strongly of the old Greek

plays. These were exclusively for the nobility and for the intellectuals. The popular theatre was frankly vulgar, melodramatic, improbable, and long-winded, and was attended almost exclusively by the lower classes.

Occidental drama has had a very marked effect upon Japan. Ibsen, Shaw, and more recently a dramatic form of Tolstoy, have attracted much attention and large audiences. Many modern authors have arisen who have composed a number of pieces along these lines. Of late there has been something of a reaction. The older dramas, somewhat polished and improved, have come into favour again, while the upper classes have manifested a renewed enthusiasm for the classic *No* and its farcical counterpart, the *Kyogen*.

Japanese painting is far too large a subject to allow us to consider it hastily or in passing. It is a matter which lies entirely outside our scope, but we may note that it, like most other points in the Japanese civilization, is alien in origin, being derived from Chinese and more particularly Buddhistic sources. To use the words of Porter, "One may wonder whether Japan would have developed any form of art but for the introduction of Buddhism. The original Shinto religion and Confucian philosophy appealed to the reason, but not to the senses . . . but Buddhism gave the major arts their first impetus. Frescoes in temples, shrines decorated with paintings, replaced without known transition the rough red daubs of the Chikugo tombs."

The Chinese artists found ready pupils in the Japanese, and it was not long before art escaped the bonds of religion and became a study and end in itself. It passed through various stages. From the sixth to the ninth century Chinese influence was supreme, the pupils not daring to go beyond the ideas of their masters. From the ninth to the fifteenth century a native Japanese school of art arose and eclipsed that which merely followed along conventional lines. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century there was a reaction, and China once more became the teacher.

From the seventeenth to the eighteenth century a popular school came into being which aimed at portraying the intimate side of society and the everyday life of the people. During the latter part of the Tokugawa régime we find a naturalistic school acquiring some prominence. This found its inspiration in landscapes.

The Restoration caused an upheaval of the earlier standards. Up to this time water colours had been the only medium and oil paintings unknown. Though the Geisha were frequently models, yet the nude was never drawn. After 1868 Western art swept the country for some time and the native artists were carried off their feet. At last a reaction set in and the older threads were taken up, though the tidal waves of French and Italian art have had a permanent influence for good on the nation, resulting in better technique, a surer touch, and the idea of perspective.

At present a yearly exhibition (*Bunten*) is held under

Government auspices, and so far has proved a great success, though a small number of radicals, including those trained under Tagore (the brother of the poet) in India, have started a rival affair of their own.

The Japanese cannot claim to be a religious race unless Emperor-worship and patriotism be considered a religion. Yet, in addition to such recent introductions as Christianity, we find three religions firmly established. These are Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism.

Strange to say the people are to a certain extent adherents of all three faiths at once. Shinto is the native and national religion. In its present form (apart from the thirteen sects) it inculcates little more than a worship of ancestors, national heroes, the Emperor, and the Imperial Ancestors, including the primal deities from whom they sprang. Confucianism is a social or moral code, possessing in its Japanese phase neither priests nor temples. Buddhism alone has a profound metaphysic and offers to the seeker after truth an acute analysis of the basic problems of existence.

According to a popular proverb, a man in his youth attends a Shinto shrine, in his maturity is regulated by the ethical sayings of Confucius and his followers, and when in old age he inquires into the mysteries of the universe he takes up the study of Buddhism.

The story of the development of these three faiths is of great fascination. It is one which has never been properly told, but with it we cannot possibly attempt to cope. We must content ourselves with emphasizing

the important influence which each has had upon the national life.*

Since the Restoration several attempts have been made to find a philosophic basis amongst the various schools of thought in the West. In the early days the English school had an immense vogue, such men as Gibbon, Hume, Buckle, Huxley, Darwin, and Spencer appealing to the utilitarian spirit of the age. This was followed by a brief French period, during which Rousseau had an appreciable influence upon the radicals. As Germany became more and more the fashion, the numerous Teuton thinkers were accepted as prophets, and in a more or less modified form they remain supreme to-day.

As yet Japan has produced no notable philosophical thinker. It is probable, judging from the past, that she will remain an assimilator rather than a producer, but that her culture and civilization will be even greater and more magnificent in the future than in the past no one who knows the Japanese can doubt.

* For a fuller discussion of Japanese Confucianism Armstrong's *Light from the East*. For Shinto compare Aston's book on the subject and *The Kurozumi Sect: Studies in Modern Shinto*, by McGovern and Miyamura. For Buddhism see my various books and articles on Mahāyāna (or Northern)